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EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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By

J. S. FURNIVALL

Author of *Netherlands India;*
Progress and Welfare in Southeast Asia

With a Supplement on

TRAINING FOR NATIVE SELF-RULE

By

BRUNO LASKER

Research Associate,
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I. P. R. INQUIRY SERIES

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FOREWORD

This study forms part of the documentation of an Inquiry organized by the Institute of Pacific Relations into the problems arising from the conflict in the Far East.

It has been prepared by Mr. J. S. Furnivall, formerly a member of the Colonial Service in Burma; author of *Netherlands India*; *Progress and Welfare in Southeast Asia* and other works. A supplementary chapter by Mr. Bruno Lasker of the International Secretariat of the Institute has been included; it has been independently written and Mr. Furnivall has no responsibility for it.

The Study has been submitted in draft to a number of authorities, many of whom made suggestions and criticisms which were of great value in the process of revision.

Though many of the comments received have been incorporated in the final text, the above authorities do not of course accept responsibility for the study. The statements of fact or of opinion appearing herein do not represent the views of the Institute of Pacific Relations or of the Pacific Council or of any of the National Councils. Such statements are made on the sole responsibility of the authors.

During 1938 the Inquiry was carried on under the general direction of Dr. J. W. Dafoe as Chairman of the Pacific Council and since 1939 under his successors Dr. Philip C. Jessup and Mr. Edgar J. Tarr. Every member of the International Secretariat has contributed to the research and editorial work in connection with the Inquiry, but special mention should be made of Mr. W. L. Holland, Miss Kate Mitchell and Miss Hilda Austern, who have carried the major share of this responsibility.

In the general conduct of this Inquiry into the problems arising from the conflict in the Far East the Institute has benefited by the counsel of the following Advisers:

Professor H. F. Angus of the University of British Columbia.
Dr. J. B. Condliffe of the University of California.
M. Etienne Dennery of the Ecole des Sciences Politiques.

These Advisers have co-operated with the Chairman and the Secretary-General in an effort to insure that the publications issued in connection with the Inquiry conform to a proper standard of sound and impartial scholarship. Each manuscript has been submitted to at least two of the Advisers and although they do not necessarily subscribe to the statements or views in this or any of the studies, they consider this study to be a useful contribution to the subject of the Inquiry.

The purpose of this Inquiry is to relate unofficial scholarship to the problems arising from the present situation in the Far East. Its purpose is to provide members of the Institute in all countries and the members of I.P.R. Conferences with an impartial and constructive analysis of the situation in the Far East with a view to indicating the major issues, which must be considered in any future adjustment of international relations in that area. To this end, the analysis will include an account of the economic and political conditions which produced the situation existing in July 1937, with respect to China, to Japan and to the other foreign Powers concerned; an evaluation of developments during the war period which appear to indicate important trends in the policies and programs of all the Powers in relation to the Far Eastern situation; and finally, an estimate of the principal political, economic and social conditions which may be expected in a post-war period, the possible forms of adjustment which might be applied under these conditions, and the effects of such adjustments upon the countries concerned.

The Inquiry does not propose to "document" a specific plan for dealing with the Far Eastern situation. Its aim is to focus available information on the present crisis in forms which will be useful to those who lack either the time or the expert knowledge to study the vast amount of material now appearing or already published in a number of languages.

The present study, "Educational Progress in Southeast Asia," falls within the framework of the first of the four general groups of studies which it is proposed to make as follows:

I. The political and economic conditions which have contributed to the present course of the policies of Western Powers in the Far East; their territorial and economic interests; the effects on their Far Eastern policies of internal economic and political developments and of developments in their foreign policies vis-à-vis other parts of the world; the probable effects of the present conflict on their positions in the Far East; their changing attitudes and policies with respect to their future relations in that area.

II. The political and economic conditions which have contributed to the present course of Japanese foreign policy and possible important future developments; the extent to which Japan's policy toward China has been influenced by Japan's geographic conditions and material resources, by special features in the political and economic organization of Japan which directly or indirectly affect the formulation of her present foreign policy, by economic and political developments in China, by the external policies of other Powers affecting Japan; the principal political, economic and social factors which may be expected in a post-war Japan; possible and probable adjustments on the part of other nations which could aid in the solution of Japan's fundamental problems.

III. The political and economic conditions which have contributed to the present course of Chinese foreign policy and possible important future developments; Chinese unification and reconstruction, 1931-37, and steps leading toward the policy of united national resistance to Japan; the present degree of political cohesion and economic strength; effects of resistance and current developments on the position of foreign interests in China and changes in China's relations with foreign Powers; the principal political, economic and social factors which may be expected in a post-war China; possible and probable adjustments on the part of other nations which could aid in the solution of China's fundamental problems.

IV. Possible methods for the adjustment of specific problems, in the light of information and suggestions presented in the three studies outlined above; analysis of previous attempts at bilateral or multilateral adjustments of political and economic relations in the Pacific and causes of their success or failure; types of administrative procedures and controls already tried out and their relative effectiveness; the major issues likely to require international adjustment in a post-war period and the most helpful methods which might be devised to meet them; necessary adjustments by the Powers concerned; the basic requirements of a practical system of international organization which could promote the security and peaceful development of the countries of the Pacific area.

EDWARD C. CARTER
Secretary-General

New York,
April 15, 1943

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EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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CHAPTER I

EAST AND WEST

The Problem of Education

Cold water, poetry, and education, it has been said, are the three things in the world guaranteed to disperse any crowd. It may be that any reference to education recalls the days we "crept unwillingly to school." For all admit that education, however distasteful, is important, and most people with an interest in the contact of civilizations agree that education is one of its most important aspects. For our own profit we of the modern West reach out over the world, buying and selling, getting and spending. Necessarily we bring even the most remote peoples into contact with our world; we change their economic environment, and therefore their social and political environment. What is the function of education in this process? This is the problem that I wish to examine in relation to the Tropical Far East, the group of countries extending from Burma to the Philippines and from Formosa to the Netherlands Indies.

To many the whole idea of education in the tropics is folly or a stumbling block. Those who hold "the still potent colonial doctrine that the so-called backward peoples are destined to remain in an inferior position"[1] may dismiss all educational endeavor as futile. Some, regarding education as necessary though dangerous, apt to provoke discontent and sedition, would dole it out grudgingly in minims. Others, though mistrusting higher education, favor primary instruction, either on political grounds—as making subject peoples easier to control and govern, or on economic grounds—as increasing the supply of intelligent though cheap and docile labor. Many, for similar reasons, would go further; they would encourage technical and vocational training for their political value in reducing the surplus of educated unemployables, or their economic value in providing assistants for public or private enterprise. All these practical, realist views exist and, so far as they exert political force, must be taken into account in framing and applying educational policy. But education and humane ideals have a natural affinity, and those who are zealous in the cause of education look on it as a means of promoting welfare.

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[1] Keesing, F. M., *Education in Pacific Countries* (1937) p. 31.

But what do they mean by welfare? What, more precisely, do they aim at through education?[2] All will agree that education should teach people how to live, but that is almost the limit of agreement. Many "state with easy familiarity certain very general aims towards which education should move, such as 'the good life,' 'happiness,'" and so on. "We must not only educate for life but for a happy life." Or again, it should be "fitted to the needs of the community." Others hold that the educator should seek actively to reshape the individual and the society to what he may consider as "better." Others hold that education "must be a means of making life to-day richer and more adequately lived" or "want to develop to the fullest the powers of the individual mind." Sometimes the problem is stated with more immediate relevance to the modern tropics, where the social order is changing rapidly and education is expected to hasten, retard or guide the process. In Africa, says Lord Hailey, education is, and is intended to be, an instrument of change. People must adapt themselves to modern conditions, and "education is the process by which they gain the best adaptation." It should aim "to bring East and West together" and to "soften the violence of the impact" of Western civilization. "We wish," says Mr. Mayhew, "to offer the African what we believe to be fundamental and best in our modern life." Education should be directed to "changing the social order in ways that are calculated to improve the lot of the citizen as a whole," or "prepare them to cope with the problems of modern life in a self-governing nation." All

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[2] *Ibid.*, Ch. 3 and pp. 17, 62, 126; Mayhew, A., *Education in the Colonial Empire*, p. 142; Hailey, Lord, *African Survey* (1938), p. 1207; Hayden, J. R., *The Philippines*, p. 513.

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mean well, but all mean something different, and those responsible for education "are almost everywhere uncertain and perplexed as to the efficacy of existing systems and the right lines for future development." Education, it has been said, "is all dressed up, and doesn't know where to go."

For this diversity of aims and general perplexity it would seem possible to suggest a common cause. Do not advocates of education, in putting forward these large claims, and emphasizing what education might or ought to be, and what it might, should or must do, tend to overlook what education actually is and does? The people perish where there is no vision, but a ladder leading up to heaven is of no use unless it starts from earth. And are they not perhaps, with the natural enthusiasm of those concerned with teaching, identifying education with instruction? Let us look into this matter more closely.

Education and Instruction

It is many years now since the distinction between education and instruction was impressed on me by a Burman villager. Much of my time in Burma was occupied with the classification of land for the assessment of revenue. The cultivators would listen to my comments on different qualities of soil with, as it seemed, flattering attention. But one day I overheard a remark, "that is all very well. Any one can be taught to read and write, but one must be born and bred a cultivator." One learns to read and write in school, but cultivation by example and experience. Education includes all that one learns by example and experience, and is much wider than instruction. Also it is much older. During the long ages of pre-history man survived because he was capable of learning by example and experience to adapt his way of life to changes in his environment; each generation learned new lessons in the school of life and passed them on in the common stock of its social heritage to succeeding generations. That process still constitutes the whole of education in primitive societies. In the South Seas, "in pre-white days indigenous societies had definite systems of education, in the broad sense that every gen-

generation took steps to transmit the cultural heritage to growing youth."[3] In Africa, "tribal life involves a tribal system of education."[4] In the hills on the borders of Assam and Burma the children grow up fluent in five languages; each of which, it is said, would take even a Dutchman two years to learn.[5] But they do not learn them in school.

Everywhere all men still learn much from example and experience outside the school. During recent years the Burman has learned much that is new: to drink tea rather than eat it; to smoke cigarettes rather than cheroots; to play football and billiards, and to go to the cinema. He has of course learned other more important things: to cultivate for the market instead of for the home, to drive a car instead of a bullock cart, and so on. In these and many other ways he has learned to adapt his way of life to his new environment, but he did not learn them in school; and all these new factors in his environment have contributed to his education no less, and perhaps more, than the teacher and the textbook. Now, as in primitive societies, education, whatever more it should or might be, is the adaptation of man to his environment, and since man is a social animal, it is the adaptation of the individual to social life. As we are considering the case of children, we may define education more narrowly as the sum of all the processes that equip the child for life in adult society.

Education then dates from the emergence of mankind. Instruction came much later and can hardly have been of primary importance before the invention of the art of letters. This gave man a new and more efficient means of preserving and transmitting his social heritage, and of communicating new ideas. But it was chiefly significant in giving a foremost place in education to mental discipline, the training of the mind. This helped man to understand his environment and made him better able, not merely to adapt his way of life to his environment, but to adapt his environment to his way of life. It gave him a key to progress. In the course of modern progress instruction has come to play a growing part in education. But it is not the whole of education; it is that part of education which consists in the formal training of the mind.

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[3] Keesing, F. M., *The South Seas in the Modern World* (1941), p. 243.

[4] Mayhew, A., *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[5] *Census of India, 1931,* Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 355.

The distinction between education and instruction is so obvious that it may seem a platitude The stock argument on behalf of the English "public" school is that it places the formation of character above the acquisition of knowledge. In *Tom Brown's Schooldays* Mr. Brown sent Tom to Rugby to be educated as a Christian and a gentleman, and gave only the third place to books. Cardinal Newman went further. From the secular standpoint he preferred a resident university which taught nothing to a non-resident university which taught everything; in the former the lads would absorb education in social intercourse, but in the latter they would get nothing but instruction. "The school is not the only, nor indeed the major, agency by which native life is transformed."[6] Every one must accept this fact; but almost every one, in talking of education, forgets it. The principal of a teachers' training college tells us to "think of people as organisms having to adjust themselves to a physical and social environment which under modern conditions may include more or less of indigenous and alien elements." That is true; but when he goes on to say that "education is the process by which they gain the most adaptation,"[7] he is thinking merely of instruction. When enthusiasts for education protest that education should promote the good life, change the social order, or soften the impact of Western civilization on the tropics, they are making a tacit assumption that these various ends can be obtained by instruction during a few years, for a few hours a day, in certain subjects as set forth in textbooks that even the teacher may regard as valid only for the school room and the examination hall.

That education nowadays is so generally confounded with instruction would seem largely because of the close connection between them in the modern West. "In Western countries we have been specializing in mental disciplines,"[8] and when we find this attitude prevailing among educationalists in the tropics we may suspect that they are looking at native society from the standpoint of the West. Seen through Western spectacles the East is out of focus, and to correct the focus one must allow for the distortion. It may be useful then to glance briefly at the Western background of education.

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[6] Keesing, F. M., *Education in Pacific Countries*, p. 73.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

The Western Background

The oldest letters of the Western world are priestly symbols, hieroglyphs; and literacy long remained a secret of the priests. In some religions it never spread much further, as among the Hindus where it did not reach the common man, the *sudra*. But in the great world religions, offering salvation to all men, letters became a means of grace to all; it was a duty, or a work of merit, to confer the gift of letters, and to profit by the gift was a condition of wellbeing. The Buddhist formula *mata, pita, acariya,* mother, father, teacher, recognizes that, although parents impart life, it is the teacher who imparts the way of life, makes life worth living; and in Buddhism, as in other world religions, the way of life extends beyond the confines of the visible world. Religion taught men how to live as members of a great society, embracing the dead, the living and those yet unborn, and though reason did not venture beyond the limits demarcated by religion, learning was highly prized as a social and religious asset. In the West this view of learning prevailed throughout the Middle Ages, and schools were founded to the greater glory of God; in the East it survived until the advent of the European.

With the Renascence a new attitude to learning appeared in Europe. The polite student of humane letters esteemed the ancient classics above the early fathers, and reason began to disregard the boundary posts set up by religion. As rationalism made headway, learning was transformed from a social and religious asset into an individual and cultural asset, and its end was to promote the greater glory of Man. This deprived the teacher of religious merit, and he looked for social prestige and material reward—to the prejudice of the common man, who could not afford to pay for instruction and consequently received little more attention than the Indian *sudra*. The doctrine of equality proclaimed in the French Revolution 000 implied that learning was the natural right of all; but this left the common man no better off, as he had no means to pay for it.

Only during the nineteenth century did a further development take place. Then, with the growth of nationalism, rulers came to recognize the political advantage of an instructed public; and about the same time, with the growth of industrialism, employers came to recognize the economic value of intelligent employees. Under the combined impact of these forces education took on new functions. Schools were multiplied; and, though mostly divorced from the traditional religion and secular in name, they became the shrines of a new idolatry, the worship of the State or Nation, and aimed at making the children useful and successful. Formerly the child was taught his letters for his spiritual welfare and the love of God; now he was dragged to school under the sanction of a legal penalty for his material welfare and the greater glory of the State. By tradition education studies the welfare of the child and equips him for life in a society transcending political and economic ends; in modern practice finding its logical development in Nazism, the child becomes an instrument of policy, and the end of education is the welfare of the State.[9]

The Renascence likewise brought to the front another aspect of learning, the economic aspect. Learning has always been potentially of economic value to the student. In mediaeval Europe, it might lead to promotion in Church or State, and even the bondman sent his sons to school to "advance them by clergy."[10] Though the main function of the school was to teach children how to live, it might also teach them now to make a living; by origin and tradition the school was a religious institution, but it also opened prospects of material advantage, appealing to the natural man on rational grounds apart from

[9] A good illustration is a comment by *The Times* on a proposal that "it shall be the primary duty of national education to develop a strong sense of national obligation in the individual, to encourage in him an ardent understanding of the State's needs, and to render him capable of serving these needs." This, in the opinion of *The Times*, is "unexceptionable as a general statement." (Sept. 7, 1942)

[10] Coulton, G. G., *Mediaeval Panorama* (1938), p. 389.

any religious motive. With the emancipation of reason from religion in the Renascence, men began to look for rewards in this world rather than in the next, and the practical economic aspect of education acquired greater prominence.

In the nineteenth century, when the State introduced compulsory education, it did not rely solely on legal penalties to enforce attendance at the new secular schools, but attracted pupils by opening a career to talent; and the parents, in whose eyes the main function of the schools was to provide their children with a means of livelihood, valued education, or more properly instruction, for its material benefits. Material advantage, formerly of subordinate importance, came to be accepted as the main benefit of education; and religious training, formerly the central aim of education, was, in any form but nationalism, left to other agencies or was increasingly neglected. Formerly the child learned in school how to live; now he learns how to make a living.

Here then are three features characteristic of modern education in the West: it is commonly identified with instruction; it is dissociated from any form of religion except Nationalism; and it teaches the means of living rather than the way of life. But these characters, though distinctive, are developments, not noticeable for being new, but resulting from gradual evolution and still embedded in their traditional environment. Against the age-long tradition of the school as a religious institution, the changes began only some three hundred years ago and date mostly from within the last hundred years. Our modern system of education has grown out of the mediaeval world, and that in turn from Rome, Greece, and Palestine. During this process instruction, the training of the intelligence, has come into the foreground. But you cannot equip a child for social life merely by training his intelligence. You may teach a child in school that he should love God, and that he should love his neighbor as himself; but you cannot inspire him with charity. The social virtues are a necessary part of education, but they are learned from example and experience and not from textbooks. On the contrary, the training of the intelligence has even an anti-social tendency, for it helps a man to pursue self-interest without giving him any sufficient reason to subordinate his individual interests to social interests; if not corrected or counterbalanced by other factors in the educational process, it would disrupt society.

In fact, however, in the West, these new features in the educational system are corrected and counteracted by other factors in the social environment, and mainly by the force of old tradition. Just as in primitive society tribal life involved a tribal system of education, so now we are learning all the time in the great public school of social life with its heritage of the Christian religion and the Christian tradition; and, where this fails, men turn for the protection of society to Nazism or Communism. In comparison with the pressure exerted on us by our environment, the impression made by schoolbooks is negligible. It may *seem* important, far more important than it is; for we are conscious of instruction whereas other educational processes are largely unconscious; we know when we are being taught but often fail to recognize until long afterwards, or not at all, that we are learning. In the West it is not merely the instruction in school but the whole of our education that equips the child for adult life. So it is likewise in the East. But in the West the school is the product of and is conditioned by, its social environment, and the instruction given there is reinforced by and reinforces the social environment outside the school. In the East, on the other hand, the Western school is "out of touch with reality," and much of the instruction given in school runs counter to and is countered by the social environment outside the school. An educational policy that disregards the difference of environment between East and West must necessarily leave those responsible for education "uncertain and perplexed"; it is just because education in the East is "all dressed up" in European clothes that it is so uncomfortable in the tropics.

The modern school plays its part more or less successfully in equipping the European for life in the modern world; and it seems to be assumed that it should be equally successful in training the Oriental for life in the modern world, and thus, by creating a new people, create a new society. "It is, and it is intended to be, an instrument of change." But "idealism is comparatively easy in the classroom."[11] One can transplant the school but not the atmosphere of which it is a product, nor the environment in which it works.

Before discussing what education might or should or must do, it seems prudent to examine what it *can* do. What *is* the function of education in the modern tropics? Perhaps we shall get some light on the subject by a brief survey of what it has attempted and accomplished in the past. That is no easy matter. It is difficult to ascertain the facts and still more difficult to interpret them. Many facts cannot be objectively expressed in terms of figures, and even where figures are available they often mean little to those who do not already know from the inside what they mean. Yet a survey of what education does and has done may suggest what it can do and what more need be done and, even if inadequate to the importance of the theme, may help to contribute suggestions for policy in the post-war world.

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[11] Mayhew, A., *op. cit.*, p. 35.

CHAPTER II

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BEFORE THE MODERN ERA

Education under Native Rule

When Europeans first reached the Tropical Far East they found schools already in existence, and literacy far more widely spread than in contemporary Europe—more widely spread indeed than in Europe until the last half of the nineteenth century. From Burma it was reported that almost every man could read and write; in Thailand the vast majority of boys received "an elementary education embracing the three R's"; in Cambodia, Cochin-China and Annam few were illiterate; in the Philippines "the knowledge of reading and writing was fairly general," and in the Moslem world, though only the clergy and the upper classes were literate, it seems that in some parts many had acquired the alphabet.[1]

Perhaps the native system of education could be seen at its best in Burma. In almost every village there was a monastery where the Buddhist clerics, swathed in yellow robes, taught the lads their letters, the elements of their religion, some notion of the sacred language—known to Europeans as Pali, and the traditions of their people. In these schools all the children, rich and poor alike, met on equal terms, shared in the common meals, performed the menial routine, and every morning and evening chanted together the sonorous Pali of the Buddhist creed. At the age of ten or twelve the boy put on the yellow robe and spent at least one Lent as a novice in the monastery; without this his education was incomplete, he was not yet a man. The cleric, though vowed to poverty and chastity, lived on the best that the village could afford and, if celibacy should prove too irksome, could at any time go back to the world as an ordinary villager. In the larger towns the course was more ambitious and there were special schools for the study of medicine.[2] In the capital, at least during the nineteenth century, there was the Burmese equivalent of a high school, where the course included arithmetic, geometry, astrology, history, geography, and even fencing—though the history and geography were fanciful and the fencing for exercise rather than for use.[3] Any lad of promise might graduate through these schools to the highest position in the land, but the main end of education was to teach the children how to live as Burman Buddhists. In the usual village school few boys got very far beyond the alphabet, and the chief lesson of the day was the recital of Pali verses inculcating the secret of a happy life. They learned the words by heart and, as in mediaeval Europe, with very little comprehension of the meaning. "Would it not be better, Sir," I once asked, "if the boys studied the Burmese translation which they could understand?" The monk replied by tapping a small boy on the head: "Such a thick little skull," he said, "can take in only one thing at a time, and the sacred text, that is the important matter." In Thailand and in Cambodia there were similar schools. In all these Buddhist countries one found village schools where the monks taught not for pay but as a work of merit, and the children studied not for material advantage but as a necessary process in their education for adult social life.

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[1] Furnivall, J. S., *The Fashioning of Leviathan* (Rangoon, 1941), p. 80; Graham, W. A., *Siam* (1924), Vol. II, p. 125; Gourdon, H., in Institut Colonial International: *Compte Rendu, 1931*, "L'Enseignement aux Indigenes," p. 219; Thompson, Virginia, *French Indo-China* (1937), p. 353; Blair, E. H., and Robinson, J. A., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1893* (55 vols., 1903-09), Vol. I, p. 44; *Census of the Philippines, 1903*, Vol. III, p. 638; Wyndham, the Hon. H. A., *Native Education* (1933), p. 200.

In Annam the educational system was more elaborate and was based on that of China, but in principle it was the same except that Confucius took the place of Gautama. In the Malayan region during the prevalence of Buddhism the universities rivaled those of India; although decaying under Hindu rule, later, when Buddhism and Hinduism succumbed to Islam, new schools took their place. These new schools were of various standards. In the village school the children learned the daily devotions and ritual ablutions, and also to recite verses from the Koran though with little understanding of the words; sometimes, it appears, the children were taught at least the alphabet. In certain boarding schools the discipline was stricter, and for those aiming at proficiency in Islamic studies there were still more advanced schools. Among the upper classes these religious schools were supplemented by special provision for learning the traditions, arts and graces of the national culture.

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[2] *Report of the Committee on Indigenous Medicine* (Rangoon, 1931), p. 9.

[3] Information from a former student, Pagan Wundauk, U Tin.

Thus, all over the Tropical Far East, under native rule, there were schools much like those of mediaeval Europe, with similar aims and similar limitations. They formed part of an education in the older sense, teaching the way of life, and equipping the child for social life in the adult world. It was a small world with a limited horizon, but the training of the child enlarged his survey, according to his capacity up to the limits of the horizon. Perhaps it is unjust to call the horizon limited; for it was limited only in space: its extent in time was infinite. The child became a member of a social order extending indefinitely in the past and future. More than that, he learned, at least in Buddhist and Moslem lands, to look on life as a period of probation in a universal scheme. The system had primarily a social and religious value, and the training did not encourage the intellect to criticize the social and religious foundations of society. Yet the system had also an economic aspect. The monastic school was an asset to the State as providing a literate community and the requisite supply of men of learning and affairs, and an asset also to the individual by giving the more intelligent an opening for advancement. It was a response to social demand, and its maintenance constituted an economic charge on the community no less than if it had been supported on the modern plan by rates and taxes. But it had no economic end; and there was no danger that it would produce an unemployable surplus of school graduates; it was an instrument of civilization, and the more who went to school the better.

Under European Rule, 1500—1800

The earliest Europeans in the Tropical Far East, the Portuguese and Spaniards, had much the same idea of education as the natives. They looked on education as a religious and social function, and on instruction, the training of the intelligence, as a means of education but in itself of subordinate importance. Their adventure in the tropics had the color of a crusade to enlarge Christendom, and native education was necessarily a main head of their colonial policy. They sought wealth not by trade but by dominion, by bringing the tropics under Christian rule and, if they carried a sword in one hand, they held a missal in the other.

The Portuguese came first and spread most widely, and everywhere they founded schools to propagate the Christian faith. In 1536, within little more than ten years from their settlement in Ternate, their headquarters in the Spice Islands, they opened there the first Christian seminary in the East. Shortly afterwards St. Francis Xavier was exhorting the missionaries to set up a school in every village and "to teach and drive into the children the elements of reading and religion, and the prayers which all must know by heart."[4] Although the Spaniards reached the Tropical Far East not long after the Portuguese, not until some forty years later, with the foundation of Manila, did they attempt regular administration. "From the beginning the Spanish establishment in the Philippines was a mission and not in the proper sense of the term a colony," and "in the first stage of their civilization, education in the Philippines was based exclusively on religion."[5]

The object of the Dutch, when they came to the East about 1600, was trade and not dominion, and they extended Dutch rule no further than was necessary or profitable. Yet, within the limits of their rule, they were zealous for the conversion of their subjects. The history of the Dutch in Formosa from 1624 to 1662 is largely a story of missionary enterprise, and more attention was paid to the cultural than to the economic welfare of the people. In the Moluccas they convinced the natives that Geneva was closer to the truth than Rome. But in Java, shut in between two powerful Moslem States, they lacked the authority to impose their creed; nonetheless they opened schools and employed teachers to inculcate the rudiments of Christianity and Western culture.[6]

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[4] Wyndham, Hon. H. A., *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[5] Blair and Robinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 48; Vol. XLV, p. 155.

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All these schools, however, Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch were essentially similar to the former Buddhist, Confucian and Moslem schools. The training "was primarily religious, and had as its object the mechanical assimilation by the pupils of an imported culture through the medium of an alien or unfamiliar tongue."[7] The Christian schools differed merely in teaching a new way of life and not in the manner of their teaching. But the natives were quite contented with their old way of life and would not send their children to the Christian schools unless compelled or bribed to do so. Both compulsion and bribery were used to fill the schools. In Formosa the Dutch made not only the children but also their parents attend school and imposed fines for irregular attendance. In Java they adopted the milder course of paying 40 *stuivers* (cents) to each convert, and at that rate soon bought over enough Christians to fill a church. The Spanish and Portuguese aimed chiefly at converting the local rulers, whose example and influence could procure the mass conversion of their subjects. They stimulated conversion also by giving Christians a preference in the grant of villages and lands, and by appointing a "Protector of the Christians" to promote their interests. In the Philippines the Spaniards formed Christian concentration camps, under missionaries who provided for both the spiritual and material welfare of their wards.

Thus the schools were filled and did much to instruct and confirm the children in the new way of life. But these did not become Christians because they went to school; they went to school because their parents became, or had to become, Christians. The European rulers gave their subjects a new Christian environment, and it was not the school that changed the environment but the environment that changed the school. The school, however, was a powerful instrument in adapting the younger generation to the new environment and thereby reacted

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[6] Wyndham, Hon. H. A., *op. cit.*, p. 13; Drewes, G. W. J., in *The Effect of Western Influence in the Pacific* (Batavia, 1928), p. 142.

[7] Wyndham, Hon. H. A., *op. cit.*, p. 70.

000 on the environment by enhancing its stability. More than fifty years after the Dutch left Formosa many natives could still speak, read, and write Dutch and retained traces of the Christian doctrines that their fathers had been compelled to learn by heart. Had the Dutch stayed longer, they would probably have been as successful as the Spaniards in the Philippines, where by 1800 there were over two million Christians.

During the eighteenth century learning seems to have had an increasing economic value under Spanish rule, but the chief function of the Spanish school in the Philippines was still to train the children as members of a Christian society and not merely to help them forward in the material world. As under native rule, the more went to school the better. Over most of the Tropical Far East, however, European policy developed along different lines; it aimed at extending commerce and not Christendom. The Dutch East India Company was a mercantile association. After destroying the last Portuguese stronghold by the capture of Malacca in 1641, it no longer felt any political incentive to spread Protestantism; and in Java, where it depended on native rulers for tribute, prudence constrained respect for Moslem feeling. The Dutch interest in native education accordingly declined. The English East India Company likewise was an association of merchants and for long was even more precariously situated than the Dutch company. Political and economic circumstances deterred both Dutch and English from interfering further than was necessary in native life and, while the Spaniards in the Philippines were creating a new world and equipping it with the schools that it required, the Dutch and English left their subjects in their old world and their old schools.

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CHAPTER III

THE ERA OF LIBERALISM—1800 TO 1900

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, political and economic developments in Europe gave a new turn to colonial policy in Asia. Contemporaneous, and in part associated with these developments, was a revival of missionary zeal and a new impulse to the foundation of schools for propagating Christianity. The results were first visible in India. Until quite recently India had been the center of British administration in the East; British Malaya formed part of India until 1867 and Burma until 1937. Moreover, British policy in India and its results have had great influence on colonial policy and among subject peoples in regions outside British rule. It is necessary, therefore, to sketch briefly the course of educational policy in India.

India

Up to the death of Aurungzeb in 1707, the British, like other Europeans in India, confined themselves strictly to commerce. But with the break-up of the Mogul Empire they found it more profitable to engage in politics or, rather, to trade in kingdoms. They bought and sold kingdoms instead of cotton goods and, like the Dutch in the Archipelago, ruled indirectly through native princes. On this system the English Company, like the Dutch, went bankrupt while its servants amassed huge fortunes. Attempts to reform the Dutch Company were ineffective, but in England the influence of the Nabobs on political life became a major issue in home politics, and the Regulating Act of 1773 "for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company" was a step in the direction of closer supervision that foreshadowed the Board of Control in England, created by Pitt's Act of 1784. At the same time, the Company itself was trying to prevent corruption by substituting direct for indirect rule. In 1772 it resolved "to stand forth as Diwan" or, in other words, to collect the revenue through its own servants. This measure was carried to a logical conclusion by the reforms of Hastings (1772-85) and Cornwallis (1786-93); Hastings laid the foundations, but the superstructure of direct rule was raised by Cornwallis who transformed the clerks and merchants of the Company into an administrative civil service entrusted with criminal jurisdiction.

Other factors, still more potent, were at the same time making for the introduction of direct rule. One was the new political philosophy based on the principles of equal law and economic freedom. This new philosophy, deriving largely from Adam Smith and Rousseau and absorbing elements from Bentham and the doctrines of the French Revolution, came to be known as Liberalism. It rested on two fundamental assumptions: one, that economic progress would best be served by leaving every one to pursue his private interest with a minimum of State interference; the other that economic progress would promote the general welfare of all classes. During the early nineteenth century, liberal ideas prevailed among all the leading Englishmen in the East, and Raffles in Malaya exchanged views with Munro in Madras and Elphinstone in Bombay. Native princes could not rule on Western principles, and Liberalism favored therefore the replacement of indirect rule by direct rule. Liberal doctrines moreover were not merely abstract speculations but had an immediate bearing on current problems of practical administration. The Industrial Revolution had enabled the English manufacturer to sell his goods at a price that the Oriental could afford, and from about 1815 the import of cotton goods grew rapidly; the interests of trade required good government on Western lines and therefore by direct rule.

The substitution of direct for indirect rule necessarily reacted on educational policy. Direct rule called for native assistants trained on Western lines, and to train them schools of a new type were needed. The first experiments in training assistants were contemporaneous with the first introduction of direct rule; as early as 1782 Hastings founded a college for Moslems at Calcutta, and in 1791 another for Hindus was opened at Benares. In these schools the language and curriculum were vernacular but, like all schools founded by a European government, they represented Western and not Oriental ideas and were essentially Western schools.[1] Liberal principles favored the opening of schools for the spread of enlightenment as an end in itself, and humanitarian sentiment was reinforced by missionary fervor. Thus at the beginning of the century Christianity and cotton goods came to India together, and Liberalism lent an arm to both. Indians themselves were pressing at the same time for the reform of prejudice and superstition, and Ram Mohun Roy started an influential movement to diffuse Western learning. Thus in 1815, when Lord Hastings (1814-23) expressed his desire for a system of public instruction in India,[2] he had the sympathies of humanitarians, of missionaries and of all who valued education as a cultural asset.

That was the atmosphere in which the earliest English-teaching schools were opened: the Baptist College at Serampore in 1817, and the schools in Calcutta founded respectively by the Church of England in 1820 and the Church of Scotland in 1830. It was an atmosphere of widespread humanitarian enthusiasm for Western learning. But as yet there was no economic demand for it. Even the two schools founded by the Company to train assistants had to grant stipends to attract students, and the mission schools were still less attractive; the people did not yet wish to learn the Christian way of life and did not yet realize that the mission school might help them to a livelihood. The diffusion of Western culture remained a humanitarian ideal; and on the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813, when Wilberforce, as spokesman of the humanitarians and missionaries, obtained the insertion of a clause sanctioning grants for education, there ensued a battle of cultures between Eastern and Western learning. Advocates of Western learning argued that it would recruit allies for England among the leading classes, raise the general standard of enlightenment among the common people, and convert India to Christianity.

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[1] Hollandsch-Inlandsch Onderwijs-Commissie, Publicatie II (1931), *Eind-Rapport*, p. 14.

[2] *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1907), IV, p. 409.

These arguments were ineffective until reinforced by more practical consideration.

It was the renewal of the Charter in 1833 that brought victory to the Western cause.[3] One clause in this provided that no British subject should "by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the Company." Another clause opened up India to all British subjects. The former clause implied that Indians would be appointed in ever increasing numbers to responsible positions; but they would have to acquire in Western schools the language, modes of thought and ideas of British rule. The latter clause gave free admission to missionaries who could provide the necessary training. Thus in 1835, when Macaulay in his famous Minute championed the cause of Western learning, he was sounding a loud trumpet around walls that had already fallen. It was on practical grounds that Bentinck (1828-35), a disciple of Bentham, favored Western education: it would promote commercial and industrial intercourse with Europe and thereby enhance Indian revenues; this would require a larger establishment, and only by training Indians could the necessary staff be obtained cheaply, if at all. Macaulay's Minute therefore served conveniently as the occasion for a pronouncement by the Government of India deciding unequivocally in favor of Western instruction.

The substitution of English for Persian in the Law courts in 1837 and the appointment, about the same time, of native judges enhanced the demand for natives trained in Western schools, but for some time progress was slow. Gradually the Government learned that the mission school produced the most useful type of public servant, and the people learned that the mission school opened a path to well paid jobs.[4] On the one hand there was an economic demand for educated natives to perform certain necessary functions, and on the other an economic demand by natives for education as a means to make a living. Aspirations for the spread of education were no longer humanitarian ideals but practical common sense. Humanitarian and practical considerations were indeed so closely intertwined that it is impossible to disentangle them, and both found expression in the document which marks the next step forward, the Despatch of 1854, enunciating the educational policy of the East India Company, and laying the foundations of the modern system of public instruction. This proclaimed as a primary concern of Government the uplift of the people by the systematic promotion of general education, and especially by the wide diffusion of primary instruction.[5]

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[3] Mayhew, A., *The Education of India* (1926), p. 13 *ff*.

[4] *Imperial Gazetteer of India, loc. cit.*

Such a comprehensive programme was still premature. Western influence had hardly penetrated beyond the coast, and the mass of the people was still shut off from the modern world. In the whole of India there was as yet no railway and the roads were mostly primitive cart tracks, so that there was little demand for native help in administration or commerce outside the Presidency towns. The military importance of good communications was revealed by the Mutiny of 1857; and, when the British Government took over the rule of India on the suppression of the Mutiny, it set about linking up the interior with the ports by road and railway. Thus, on the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 almost the whole of India was brought for the first time into close contact with the West. The improvement of communications led to more intensive administration and therefore gave a new stimulus to educational progress. In 1859 the Crown reaffirmed the policy laid down in the Despatch of 1854 and during the next few years created an Education Department in each of the large provinces.

The creation of educational services introduced a new and important factor into the economics of education. Education officers may perhaps tend to measure progress by the yardstick of technical or departmental efficiency, by "passes" and "returns," but by their training and profession they have much in common with humanitarians and missionaries in their attitude to education: they regard it as an instrument of culture. Professional zeal together with a human regard for pay and promotion stimulate administrative officials to open schools and teachers to multiply pupils without regard to economic circumstances or to the employment market. That is good, in so far as education is an instrument of culture; under native rule, or under the Spaniards in the Philippines, there could not be too many children at school. But in India the function of education was primarily economic—to provide Government with assistants and boys with jobs. At the time this mattered little, as the revolution in the economic relations between East and West consequent on the opening of the Suez Canal stimulated a rapid growth of trade and, despite a corresponding development of education,[6] the supply of school graduates could hardly keep pace with the demand. They continued to develop at much the same rate until the end of the century, when an unfavorable turn in the economic conjuncture compelled attention to the danger of over-production by the schools.

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[5] *Ibid.*, IV, 413; *Report of the Education Commission*, 1883, p. 24.

The surplus of unemployable school graduates was only one of many problems demanding a closer inquiry into educational policy. The progress of education had diverged widely from the course anticipated by early enthusiasts. They had expected to recruit allies for the ruling power, to free the people from ancient superstition and to promote Christianity, and they had advocated Western knowledge for its cultural and social value as teaching a new and higher view of life. To that end the more who went to school the better, and every statement of educational policy, under the Crown and under the Company, had stressed the dominant importance of primary instruction for the masses. But education had been governed by economic factors. In administration and commerce there was an economic demand for more and cheaper assistants, and the more of them the cheaper. Among the people there was an economic demand for instruction as providing a new and better means of livelihood, and the more who went to school the less they got for it. As supply overtook demand competition forced up the standards of instruction and lowered the value of degrees. In early days a primary certificate was sufficient for a job; before long candidates for employment had to produce a secondary certificate and by 1900 even lads from the universities might fail

[6] *Ibid.*, III, p. 263; IV, p. 414.

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to find remunerative work. Discontent was rife among the educated classes, led by the older and more ambitious who, relying on the promises of 1833, had qualified themselves in Europe for positions of responsibility and, on returning, found themselves disappointed of their hopes. Meanwhile public instruction had failed to reach the common people who were still buried in superstition. Christianity had made some headway among outcasts on whom it conferred a higher status, and in a Christian environment the school was a valuable instrument of culture. But many prominent Indians in their reaction against Western individualism were lighting new fires to their old gods and finding tinderwood among the masses. Missionaries and humanitarians had expected to transform the social environment through the school, and the environment had changed; but it had been changed by economic forces and not by education; and the new environment had transformed the school from a social into an economic institution. Modern principles of education, which had proved their value in the West, worked differently in India where they had no Western background. In the Tropical Far East they gave very similar results.

Burma

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At the beginning of the nineteenth century the expansion of the British and Burman empires brought them into political contact along a common frontier; and at the same time the growth of British trade brought them into economic contact. Burma was a mediaeval State suddenly brought up against the modern world. Failing reformation from within, foreign intervention was inevitable. Continual friction led to a succession of wars. The first ended in 1826 with the cession of two maritime provinces: Arakan, bordering on Bengal; and Tenasserim, reaching down to Malaya. The second war in 1852 linked up the earlier possessions through the occupation of Pegu and brought the whole of Lower Burma under British rule. In 1886, after a third war, the absorption of the country within the Indian Empire was completed by the annexation of Upper Burma. Until 1937 Burma remained a province of the Indian

The earlier officials in Burma held the liberal views then generally prevalent. A proclamation by the first civil governor of Burma announced his intention to rule the country "on the most liberal and equitable principles." He was interested in education, but that given in the monasteries seemed to him "of little practical use," and he hoped "to offer the people the means of acquiring a knowledge of the English language, and more useful learning than could be gained under their own system of instruction."[7] Roman Catholics had been working in the country with little intermission since 1719 and about 1800 had a school in Rangoon with sixty to seventy boys, including some natives. Baptists, at first English and then American, had been in Burma since 1807 but did little or no educational work before the arrival of the English. In 1825 they opened a school in Tenasserim but about the same time turned their attention to a backward heathen tribe, the Karens.[8] An attempt to enlist their help proved unsuccessful, but the Government needed English-speaking clerks and between 1835 and 1844 opened three Anglo-vernacular schools, one in each of the three chief towns.[9] Economic progress however was slow. So late as 1870, apart from barracks, jails and law-courts, built mostly with Indian immigrant or convict labor, the public works consisted of little more than five incomplete roads.[10] There was little demand therefore for lads from Western schools. Moreover, the Buddhist monastic schools, though unaided and unrecognized and often decried as impractical, met the needs not only of the people in their home life but also of the Administration for the supply of public servants. Even the judges had "little other education than that which they received as boys in some Buddhist monastery."[11] Meanwhile the missionaries were devoting practically all their attention to the Karens, from whom they met a ready welcome. In 1864 the

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[7] Furnivall, J. S., *The Fashioning of Leviathan* (Rangoon, 1941), pp. 6, 81.

[8] *Census of Burma*, 1891, p. 79; Luce, Rev. E., *The Catholic Mission in Southern Burma* (1904), p. 17.

[9] Campbell, A., *Report of the Vernacular and Vocational Reorganization Committee, 1936*, p. 129.

[10] *Report on the Administration of British Burma, 1861-62*, p. viii.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1868-69, p. 61.

Government still maintained three schools, and various missionary societies maintained 24 middle or special schools, 170 village schools and 10 schools for girls. Of just over five thousand children in these schools only one thousand were Burmese.[12] But the officials were now being required to study the law codes and to pass examinations, though "they did not understand what they learned and had little power of applying it." The Government was therefore beginning to recruit youths who had "received some smattering of education in a government or mission school to the exclusion of the old class of hereditary and highly influential men."[13] This naturally reacted unfavorably on the monastic schools, which lost the brighter and wealthier lads. Almost from the beginning of the British occupation the decay of these schools was regretted. How far the deterioration proceeded is uncertain. According to the first Census, taken in 1872, only 32 per cent of the males were literate, and among over two million families only 12,300 were literate. Yet the corresponding figures for the jail population were 60 and 10 per cent, and, as the Census Report suggests, it is "hardly probable that the criminal classes were better instructed than the general population."[14]

That was roughly the position when the educational impulse of the sixties spread from India to Burma. In 1865 the then head of the Province, Sir Arthur Phayre, who knew the country intimately, put forward a plan based on the monastic schools. He proposed gradually to establish Anglo-vernacular schools in the chief towns and to have no other lay schools, but to encourage the monastic schools to improve their curriculum by providing them with books on arithmetic, land-measurement, and geography. But his plan never had a fair trial. In 1866 a Director of Public Instruction was appointed. "The Director spoke little Burmese, the clergy spoke no English; the Director had no staff and the clergy no central authority."[15] Phayre had recognized that to obtain the cooperation of the Buddhist monks

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[12] Campbell, A., *Report of the Vernacular and Vocational Reorganization Committee, 1936,* p. 129; *Administration Report, 1861-62,* p. 19.

[13] *Administration Report, 1868-69,* p. 61.

[14] *Census Report, 1872,* p. 25.

[15] Harvey, G. E., *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. VI, p. 444.

"would require very great tact, judgment and discretion," and these were lacking. By 1871 only 141 monasteries had accepted the scheme. Even in remote villages there was an almost universal cry for English, and it was suggested that Phayre's plan would be more attractive if English were taught in selected monastic schools; but the proposal was vetoed as the boys would not acquire a correct English accent.[16] Phayre's plan would have based the whole of vernacular instruction on a national traditional basis and, especially with the inclusion of English, might have breathed new life into the monastic schools. But progress was too slow, and it was decided to recognize lay schools which were expected to prove more efficient. Even a little more patience might have justified Phayre's hopes; by 1873 the number of monastic schools on the registers had risen to 801 against 112 lay schools.

By this time the opening of the Suez Canal had stimulated rapid economic progress with a corresponding growth of the demand for Anglo-vernacular instruction, and this occupied the chief attention of the Department. Vernacular education however, was gradually passing more under Government supervision, and just before the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 the departmental registers included close on four thousand monastic schools and rather more than six hundred lay schools. The annexation was followed by a swing in the direction of "efficiency". By the end of the century the number of monastic schools on the registers in Lower Burma had fallen to 1171 against 523 lay vernacular schools; during the same period in Upper Burma the number of registered monastic schools after rising to 2998, dropped to 1804—as against 557 lay vernacular schools.[17] According to the Census Report for 1901, the registered primary schools, monastic and lay, numbered 4091, with 127,638 pupils; and there were 13,118 unregistered monastic schools with 147,682 pupils.[18] By this time Anglo-vernacular instruction had made considerable progress: there were 388 secondary schools with 31,616 students and 2 high schools with

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[16] *Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1928-29*, p. 11.

[17] For annual figures see Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[18] Cited in *Census Report*, 1911, p. 166.

140 students. Out of a total population of 10.5 million, there were some 275,000 children at school, including about 27,000 girls, mostly in "boys" schools. The proportion of male literates was 37.8 per cent and of female literates about 4.5 per cent. The figures for literacy were reduced by Indian immigration; in the central basin of Upper Burma, where they were few Indians, the percentage of literacy among males was 45.6. Thus it was largely to the unregistered monasteries that the supremacy of Burma among Indian provinces was due. Female literacy was higher in Lower Burma and notable among the Christian Karens.

In the first years after the Annexation, some Buddhist monks in Upper Burma welcomed the introduction of new studies and even encouraged the teaching of English in the monastic schools. "There is perhaps no more hopeful sign of the future of the country," says the Census Report for 1891, "than the admirable foresight which the *pongyis* (monks) in Lower Burma have shown before, and which is shown at the present day by the *pongyis* of Upper Burma. The worst service the conquerors of Burma could render the conquered is to take away their religion and give them instead nothing but a smattering of English and a Calcutta degree."[19] From the beginning of British rule in 1826 the Government repeatedly expressed sympathy with the monastic school. But this was fighting a losing battle against economic forces and against departmental regulations intended to promote efficiency. A smattering of English conferred social status and had economic value. The lay school was more useful to the petty trader, increasing in number in the towns, and to the lad who would go on to an Anglo-vernacular school. Some lay schools attempted "surreptitiously" to teach English.[20] Formerly the general diffusion of English had been viewed with favor, and English was the usual medium of instruction in Anglo-vernacular schools, where indeed many of the teachers, European and Indian, could not speak Burmese. But in 1891 it was ruled that in Anglo-vernacular schools instruction up to Standard VII should be in the vernacular, but

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[19] *Census Report, 1891*, p. 139.

[20] Harvey, G. E., *op. cit.*, p. 445.

87| the wishes were disregarded and English continued as the medium of instruction until 1900.[21]

Standards I to IV were classed as Primary, V to VII as Middle School, and VIII to X as High School; and schools were classed according to the highest standard taught, even though going down to the lowest standard. Of the two high schools one was a government institution; of the secondary schools three were managed by Government and seventeen by local bodies. All the other schools of these grades were under private management, almost entirely missionary. All the primary schools were under private management.[22] Thus the control of Government over education was for the most part exercised only through grants to recognized institutions, calculated almost exclusively on the results of examinations, and about half the children were in monastic schools wholly independent of Government control. As in India, the system of public instruction, despite the high ideals of missionaries and educational authorities, had become a factory for the production of clerks, and the Eastern Schools, struggling to maintain a different tradition, were deteriorating and falling into the background. As yet, however, there were no such problems as perturbed the Government in India. No Burman had returned from studies in Europe; even lads who failed to reach the VIIth standard could easily find employment, and the Buddhist clergy still acquiesced in their supersession by lay teachers; there was no trouble in the country and the boys were well conducted in the schools.

British Malaya

British Malaya includes the Straits Settlements, four Federated Malay States and five Unfederated Malay States. The Straits Settlements, consisting of Singapore, Penang and Malacca with their immediate environs, were acquired between 1786 and 1824; the two former had been under native rule, but Malacca had belonged successively to the Portuguese and Dutch. They were under the East India Company until 1857 and under the India Office until 1867, when they became a Crown

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[21] *Administration Report, 1891-92,* p. 128.

[22] *Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1899-1900.*

Colony under the Colonial Office. The four Federated States accepted British protection at various dates between 1874 and 1889, and in 1896 were constituted a Federation under a Resident-General. Of the Unfederated States four were taken over from Siam in 1909 and the fifth, Johore, formally accepted British protection in 1914. The headquarters of government is in Singapore, where the Governor-General is also High Commissioner for the Malay States.

The long connection between the Straits Settlements and the East India Company gave an Indian bias to the administrative system, and this in turn influenced the administrative system of the Malay States. But the great distance between Calcutta and Singapore, the difference between Indians and Malays, and the primary significance of the Straits Settlements as ports raised special problems affecting all aspects of the administration, including public instruction. The Straits Settlements were almost exclusively commercial centers with a mixed population in which Malays rapidly sank into the background, giving place to Chinese and Indians. In early days, especially under Raffles, Liberal views prevailed, schools were opened for all classes. But these soon abandoned vernacular instruction and concentrated on an English course that would furnish the necessary subordinates for government and trade. So great was the demand for English that these government schools were soon supplemented by private schools, mostly established by missionaries. Few of the pupils were Malays, and little was attempted for the vernacular instruction of Malays. As shown below, the pupils in English schools were three times as numerous in 1872 as those in vernacular schools.

In Malaya as elsewhere a new interest in education coincided with the opening of the Suez Canal, and in 1870 a Committee was appointed to examine the position. It found that boys from the lower standards could easily obtain jobs, and therefore left school with a very imperfect knowledge of English; that the vernacular schools had done "little or no good," and the education of girls was very unsatisfactory.[23] The defects of the Eng-

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[23] Special Reports on Educational Subjects, 1905 (Cd. 2379); "The Systems of Education in the Straits Settlement," p. 138.

871 lish course were ascribed to the short time spent in school and to the lack of a preliminary grounding in the vernacular. The Committee recommended the appointment of a director to supervise and coordinate education, and the encouragement of vernacular schools, apparently to provide a firmer basis for English education. In 1872 an Education Department was created and an Inspector of Schools appointed; the English schools were left mainly to private enterprise, supervised and assisted by Government, but the Government encouraged vernacular education among the Malays by providing free instruction in State village schools. In the English schools the medium of instruction continued to be English. These principles governed educational policy in the Colony up to the end of the century.

The assumption of control over the Malay States raised a new problem. It was thought impolitic to encourage missionary enterprise among a Moslem population newly brought under British rule, and for some time English as well as vernacular education was under the direct control of the Government; towards the end of the century missionaries were invited to take over some of the English schools that the Government had opened. Vernacular instruction was provided on the same lines as in the Colony. Each State had its own inspector, but in 1898 a federal officer was appointed to exercise the functions of a director. From 1891 one State introduced compulsory attendance and the others followed its example. Thus by the end of the century vernacular instruction had made notable progress, though in the Colony there were still more pupils in the English than in vernacular schools.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN BRITISH MALAYA[24]

(a) No. of Schools   (b) No. of Pupils

Year	Straits Settlements				Federated Malay States			
	English		*Vernacular*		*English*		*Vernacular*	
	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*a*)	(*b*)	(*a*)	(*b*)
1872	19	2,641	28	818	..	..	..	..
1900	39	7,528	171	7,404	24	1,629	234	6,494

[24] *Ibid.*, ". . . Straits Settlements," p. 134; ". . . Federated Malay States," p. 8.

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The complete English course up to the VIIth standard corresponded in intention to that of an elementary school in England, though falling short of it in practice. To the ordinary non-European it represented a "higher" education [25] and very few went further. To encourage the brighter lads to remain at school annual scholarships, known later as "Queen's Scholarships", were instituted in 1886, enabling the successful candidates to proceed to an English University. With the same object the Cambridge Local Examinations were introduced in 1891; but in 1900 only some two hundred were receiving a secondary education and practically all these were from the Colony. Not many stayed at school up to the VIIth standard, as their one object was to acquire enough English to become a clerk and they could achieve this after the IVth standard.

The vernacular course comprised four standards covering the three R's and a little very elementary geography; from about 1894 the pupils were taught the Roman as well as the Arabic characters. To improve the teaching a training school was opened in 1878, but the teachers were still unsatisfactory as they did not practice the virtues that they learned and taught. The chief problem however was to obtain the cooperation of the parents, who were "apathetic, jealous of the loss of their children's services, and distrustful of secular teaching."[26] They voluntarily sent their children to the Moslem schools for their spiritual welfare or to English schools for their material welfare, but the official vernacular schools offered them nothing in this world or the next. The use of the schools as centers for distributing quinine and other medicines did something to dispel the prejudice. From 1888 pupils were encouraged to complete the course by the grant of a free education in an English school to those few who did so. Gentle pressure was exercised through the chieftains and headmen and, as mentioned above, compulsory attendance was gradually introduced. In these various ways vernacular instruction made headway; and in 1900 it was estimated that about two-thirds of the Malay boys of

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[25] *Ibid.*, ". . . Federated Malay States," p. 7.

[26] *Annual Report on Education in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, 1938*, p. 18.

871 school age attended school, though mostly for no longer than a year or two. Female education was still unpopular; in the States only about 250 girls attended vernacular schools, and those in English schools, about the same number, were Europeans or Eurasians. In the Colony the Malay girls' schools were few and very ill-attended.[27] There were few vernacular schools except for Malays as it was felt that to provide schools for foreign Asiatics "would be committing the fatal error of encouraging them in the idea that China or India is their home."[28]

Thus by the end of the century English education was firmly established on an economic basis. There was no unemployment among school graduates and no discontent; on the contrary, there were bitter complaints both from Government and commercial firms at the high salaries that had to be paid for incompetent clerks. The Government has succeeded in getting a considerable proportion of the younger boys into the vernacular schools, but not for long enough to acquire literacy, and it had failed to organize a demand among the people in general for primary instruction.

Netherlands India

One of the indirect consequences of the French Revolution was the collapse of the Dutch East India Company, which went bankrupt and was taken over by the home government. Dutch rule was still concentrated in Java, which, between 1808 and 1815, passed successively to the French and English. Raffles (1811-15) believed fervently in the new Liberal principles of equal law and economic freedom, and replaced the Dutch system of indirect rule by the system of direct rule, then recently adopted in India. Liberal ideas prevailed among the Dutch when they regained possession, and they tried to reconstruct their rule on the foundations laid by Raffles. But free trade, though profitable to the English manufacturer, was unprofitable to the Dutch, who had no manufactures. Gradually they reverted to the older plan of obtaining tribute by indirect rule. This developed in 1830 into the Culture System under 87/ which the whole of Java became one huge agricultural enterprise, run by the Government untrammelled by parliamentary control. In 1848 the Liberals came into power and, under a parliamentary system, gradually substituted private enterprise for State enterprise. Although the growth of manufactures in the Netherlands gave Java some importance as a market, it was chiefly valuable throughout the nineteenth century as a source of agricultural products under European management, and for this the system of indirect rule was most expedient. The possessions outside Java were neglected, except that from about 1870 European enterprise spread to the East Coast of Sumatra. In British India the encouragement of trade under direct rule gave, or seemed to give, the natives an outlet to the modern world, whereas in the Netherlands Indies dependence upon tribute under a system of indirect rule shut up the natives in their own world. On the other hand the British system gave few openings to Europeans except as high officials and employers, whereas the Dutch system required a large establishment of European subordinates. These different characteristics of the respective systems required a corresponding divergence in educational policy.

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[27] *Special Reports, loc. cit.*, "Federated Malay States," p. 8; ". . . Straits Settlements," p. 141.

[28] *Ibid.*, ". . . Federated Malay States," p. 11.

The Constitutional Regulation of 1818, in which the Dutch expounded their future policy, was colored by the prevalent Liberalism and recognized the principle of providing instruction for both European and non-European inhabitants. The considerable and growing number of Europeans and Eurasians (juridically Europeans) needed European schools; to these schools natives were cautiously admitted. Under the Culture System a primary course sufficed to equip the lads for such posts as were available. After 1870, Europeans grew rapidly in number: the work in administration and on the plantations grew more complex and required better educated men; and, as Europeans and their families passed more freely to and fro between Java and the Netherlands, they demanded that the schools in Java should be on the same level as those at home. Until 1890 home politics precluded State aid to denominational institutions, and public instruction was mainly in

871 State schools. In 1900 all the secondary schools and almost all the primary schools were managed by the State, and of the few private schools only nine were helped from public funds. It should be noted that all these schools were meant for Europeans in contrast to the English in Malaya which were open to all classes; they corresponded to the English schools as distinct from Anglo-vernacular schools in India and Burma. This appears clearly in the table below.

EUROPEAN SCHOOLS AND PUPILS, 1900[29]

	Secondary			Primary		
Management	*Schools*	*Pupils*	*Non-Europeans*	*Schools*	*Pupils*	*Non-Europeans*
Government	7	1,139	19	130	15,642	1,870
Private	..	..	..	21	3,270	51

The course in these schools was mostly academic. Apart from two training schools for teachers there was no provision for vocational instruction. Towards the end of the century the growing use of machinery on the sugar estates called into existence engineering classes; and a demand for skilled "European" workmen was met by trade classes provided for destitute Europeans by charitable organizations.

As regards native education, an inquiry held in accordance with the Regulation of 1818 did not lead to action. Missionaries, admitted since 1814, were restricted to the eastern archipelago, where the people were heathen or already Christian and there was no fear of inflaming Moslem sentiment. In the Netherlands, Liberal enthusiasm waned, and in the Netherlands Indies the reversion to indirect rule obviated the need for a large staff of native assistants. A few members of leading families were sent to learn Dutch in European homes or schools, and some Dutch officials, as office work increased, made private arrangements for training clerks. But under the Culture System there was no economic demand for native education, and the Malays under Dutch rule were as apathetic as were the Malays and Burmans under British rule.

The first acknowledgment that native subordinates required Western education came in 1848 when the Government sanctioned an annual grant of f.25,000 for schools among the Javanese "especially with a view to the training of officials."[30] This measure was strictly utilitarian, but with the revival of Liberalism, more generous views were making headway and found an eloquent exponent in Baron van Hoevell, a Dutch pastor who left Java in 1848 to enter the States-General as an ally of the Liberal statesman Thorbecke. In 1851 the ban on missionary work in Java was withdrawn, and in 1854 a new Constitutional Law for India recommended native education to the special care of Government. "It is our task, our duty," said Thorbecke, "to spread light in India."[31]

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[29] *Jaarcijfers, 1900.*

But, as elsewhere, the humanitarians were ahead of the times. Ten years elapsed before the measure even began to take effect. Then in 1864 Eurasians and natives were made eligible for the higher administrative posts; the Dutch schools, closed to natives since 1848, were reopened to them; the limit of f.25,000 for native education was removed, and an Inspector ot Native Education was appointed. In 1867 there followed the creation of a Department of Education, Religion and Industry. The Suez Canal gave a new impetus to commerce and education, and the schools for natives grew in number and in the scope of the curriculum. This became too cumbrous for most pupils. A new "First Class School" was therefore created, primarily for officials; the old schools were retained under the name of Second Class Schools for natives who would remain within the eastern world. The original intention was that native education should be dominated by the State, but financial stringency rendered this impossible, and private enterprise

NON-EUROPEAN SCHOOLS AND PUPILS, 1900[32]

	First Class		Others			
	State		*State*		*Private*	
	Schools	*Pupils*	*Schools*	*Pupils*	*Schools*	*Pupils*
Natives......	4	208	539	88,235	840	58,132
Foreign......	..	..	..	..	696	13,349
Orientals.....	..	..	..	..	..	..

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[30] Hollandsch-Inlandsch Onderwijs-Commissie (1931), *Resumé*, p. 1.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[32] *Jaarcijfers, 1900.*

87/ played an increasing part, especially after 1890 when religious bodies became eligible for grants.[33] Alongside vernacular schools for natives, there also grew up schools for other Orientals.

In addition to these schools there were five schools for the training of teachers and one for training medical subordinates. The ordinary native school served the same purpose as elsewhere in providing townsfolk with an elementary education suitable to their requirements; but in the Netherlands-Indies it did more than this, as it was practically the sole avenue for natives to employment under Government and this was its chief attraction. The training and medical schools also led to comparatively well paid official posts and the students were partly recruited from men with no interest in or intention to practice teaching or medicine, but who could not afford or obtain any other form of instruction.

Indo-China

Aspirations in the Far East brought the French into conflict with Annam in 1858. In that year they took Saigon, and between 1862 and 1867 the rest of Cochin-China. For some time Norodom, King of Cambodia, had been at issue with both Siam and Annam, and in 1863 he accepted French protection; Siamese claims over Cambodia were renounced in 1867 except for two provinces, Battambang and Angkor, which did not come under French rule until 1907. In 1884 the French made further progress by extending suzerainty over Annam; the northern province, Tonkin, came under direct rule, and Annam proper remained a Protectorate. Friction with Siam led to the constitution of a French Protectorate over Laos in 1885-86. In 1898 the French obtained from China a lease of Kwangchouwan in Kwangtung.

In Cambodia and Laos there was an Indian civilization similar to that of Burma and Siam, but the other peoples derived their civilization mainly from China. In all these countries there were native schools. In the sphere of Indian influence there were monastic schools as in other Buddhist lands. In the regions under Chinese influence there was a comprehensive system of education based on the Chinese classics. It was essentially philosophic and religious; and, though many of the people learned to read and write, few went further. But the schools differed from those in Buddhist countries in being formally linked up with the civil administration, and the members of the civil service were recruited from boys who began their education in the village schools and passed by a series of examinations through more advanced schools.

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[33] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

The French on their arrival in Cochin-China needed interpreters and not philosophers. Although the native system provided "a solid basis of Moral education," it seemed of little value "pour les besoins de la vie pratique." [34] In any case the French could not take over the system, as it broke down when the Emperor of Annam, on ceding Cochin-China, recalled all the officials, including educational officials. Under British and Dutch rule, long years of contact had built up a tradition that officials should be conversant with the native tongue, but few French were able to speak Annamese, and it seemed easier to teach the people French. This agreed with the prevailing colonial doctrine of assimilation. According to the instructions to the first civil Governor, "no sacrifices could be more useful and fruitful than those which the colony should make to familiarize the Annamese with French ideas on morality, science and economics." [35] But educational policy was closely entangled in home politics; the French tradition of a centralized administration tied the colonial government with red tape to Paris; anti-clericalists were jealous of missionary enterprise, and many people were critical of imperialist expansion.

Until 1879 Cochin-China was governed by a succession of admirals. When the southern provinces of Cochin-China were ceded to the French in 1862 stipends were granted to natives who would attend the missionary Ecole d'Adran in Saigon to be trained as teachers in Franco-vernacular schools. This raised the problem of writing Annamese. The current use of Chinese characters enhanced the difficulty of the language and the Government decided to adopt a system, known as *quoc ngu,* devised by missionaries in the seventeenth century for writing Annamese in Roman characters. In 1864 Franco-vernacular schools were opened in the larger centers. But the Annamese though zealous for the traditional learning, remained indifferent or hostile to the new secular schools. Even stipends failed to attract pupils, and schooling was regarded as a corvée, the whole village subscribing to indemnify those who would send their sons to school. Gradually however the people learned that the school led to promotion, and even before the introduction of civil rule the schools were crowded with the sons of notables. Meanwhile the older village schools were disappearing, and attempts to replace them with Western schools were unsuccessful. Thus the admirals "had unwittingly destroyed the traditional education . . . and the problem of mass education was totally untouched." [36]

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[34] Gourdon, H., *op. cit.*, p. 219.

[35] Cited by Wyndham, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

The civil Governor appointed in 1879 had a special mission to promote assimilation. "On paper schools were established in each village and canton," [37] but for some years the scheme was not translated into practice. By the end of the century there were about ten to twenty thousand children in village schools learning *quoc ngu* and a little arithmetic, and about five thousand in the Franco-vernacular schools. There were also a few hundred children in schools reserved for European and Eurasians; these could acquire a primary diploma but it was not recognized in France. With a view to promoting assimilation a few native students had been sent to absorb French culture in Paris, but some of them had come back disaffected to French rule. The general result of educational progress in Cochin-China by 1900 was summarized by the Lieutenant Governor. "A few hundred natives could speak French adequately. A few thousand could gabble it well enough to earn a living as servants, cooks, coolies and so on, and the rest were more illiterate than their fathers had been before the French occupation. Meanwhile the curves of crime and European education rose concurrently." [38]

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[36] Thompson, Virginia, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 286.

[38] Harmand, Jules, *Domination et Colonisation* (1910), p. 264.

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Outside Cochin-China Western instruction made slower progress. In Cambodia French rule was merely nominal, and there was no attempt to change the monastic system of education. In Annam the position was very similar. But Tonkin was brought under French administration and, as in Cochin-China, the French officials depended on native intermediaries in their relations with the villagers. An attempt was made to spread French rapidly and widely, so that no Frenchman traveling anywhere should fail to find some one to whom he could convey his meaning. The people however preferred their children to be taught classical Chinese. The French therefore founded Franco-vernacular schools for training native subordinates and by the end of the century there were some 1500 pupils in these schools.[39] But here, as in Cochin-China the standard attained was far below a complete primary course. Western instruction did not penetrate beyond the provincial capitals and some prefectures, and the native system continued to function in the villages.

The Philippines

The troubles of Spain during the nineteenth century were necessarily reflected in the Philippines. In colonial history the outstanding event was the secession of Mexico in 1823. Until then the Philippines had been governed from Mexico and tied to it commercially and financially, but now they were brought into direct relations with the homeland. Spaniards with the new Liberal ideas arrived in larger numbers, and Filipinos began to send their sons to Europe. The impact of Liberalism and modern progress shook the old concept of education as the handmaid of religion and, though the friars continued to give primary instruction in the vernacular, the University of Manila began to produce graduates with Liberal views. In 1855 a Commission was appointed to consider the improvement of education and, especially, the extension of Spanish. During the 'sixties the Liberal movement made great headway; an Education Code was promulgated in 1863, and two years later the Jesuits opened a Normal School. In 1870 steamers began to

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[39] Brenier, H., *Essai d'Atlas Statistique* (1914).

87 arrive directly from Barcelona by the Suez Canal, and the immediate sequel was a rapid growth of trade, accompanied, despite a clerical reaction, by a corresponding growth of education with a multiplication of schools and pupils. The conflict between a clerical government and Liberal Filipinos came to a head with the Revolution of 1896, which lasted until the United States defeated first Spain and then the rebels.

The Education Code of 1863 directed that at the headquarters of every township (*pueblo*) there should be at least one primary school for boys and one for girls; in large towns there were to be extra schools for each five thousand of the population. Attendance was to be compulsory and, for the poor, free. (Before resorting to compulsion, however, the parish priest was to exhort the mothers on the spiritual and material benefits of education.) The course would comprise three classes with two grades in the top class. The teachers would be recruited from a normal school maintained by the Jesuits. The parish priests would be *ex officio* inspectors, and the supreme direction was vested in Provincial Boards under the local prelates and a Superior Commission with the Archbishop as President. After five years no Filipino would be eligible for a salaried post under Government without a knowledge of Spanish; after fifteen years a knowledge of Spanish would be required for local offices and for exemption from labor dues. The accompanying Regulations prescribed the primary syllabus: Christian doctrine and sacred history, reading and writing in the vernacular, arithmetic, elementary Spanish and the general history and geography of Spain, practical agriculture, deportment, and vocal music. In the girls' schools domestic training was to replace Spanish geography and history and agriculture.[40] The progress of primary instruction is indicated in the following table, though the figures are only approximately correct.

By the end of Spanish rule the number of schools had risen to 2,167. (The figure 200,000, sometimes given as the total attendance at that time, would seem to refer to boys only.)

There were a few secondary schools, some dating from the early days of Spanish rule and intended originally for Europeans but later opened to natives. The complete course lasted five years, leading up to the baccalaureate; it consisted mainly of Latin and philosophy and neglected natural science. Three of the secondary schools for boys, including the Municipal Athenaeum of Manila, were official institutions but under clerical control, and there were 41 private schools, of which 14 were in Manila. Of the schools for girls two dated from the seventeenth century, and some half dozen were founded in the last half of the nineteenth century; all these were maintained by religious bodies. The secondary schools comprised normal schools for men and women, a college of medicine and pharmacy, a nautical school, a school of painting, an agricultural school, founded in 1887, and about six seminaries for theological training.

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[40] *Census, 1903,* Vol. III, p. 576.

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND PUPILS[41]

	1866	*1892*
Boys' Schools		
Number	840	1,087
Pupils	136,108	..
Girls' Schools		
Number	783	1,050
Pupils	9,608	..

Higher education was given in five provincial seminaries in the University of Manila. This was founded in 1619 as the College of St. Thomas and in 1645 was recognized by the Pope as a university with the right to grant degrees in theology and philosophy; also, from 1734, in canon and civil law. In 1785 chairs of literature, Roman law, medicine and mathematics were founded, but the two last were unoccupied for lack of pupils. In 1865 the university was reorganized on modern lines and partly secularized; it produced about three hundred graduates annually. The growth of commerce created a demand for lawyers; in 1883-84 there were 232 students of jurisprudence against 68 taking theology and medicine. At about the same time the students of medicine and pharmacy rose suddenly from 60 to 200.[42] Thus, although education remained under clerical control, the students were turning increasingly to secular careers, and especially the pursuit of law.

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[41] *Ibid.*, III, p. 593. Other sources give slightly different figures.

[42] *Ibid.*, III, p. 626.

From this brief summary it is clear that by the end of the nineteenth century the Philippines were far ahead of any country in the Tropical Far East in respect of educational facilities. They stood alone also in female education. Nor was there any dependency where so many natives had been to Europe for their studies; and among these were the two outstanding figures of the struggle against Spain, Rizal and Aguinaldo.

Thailand

The European invasion of the Tropical Far East during the nineteenth century brought Western influence in due course to Thailand, then still known as Siam. Here the system of education, as of economic, social and political organization in general, closely resembled that of Burma. In every village there was a monastic school attended by all the boys. But Thailand was fortunate in its situation and its kings. The mutual jealousy of France and Britain favored its independence as a buffer State, and though it lost outlying provinces inhabited by Cambodians and Malays, the Thai region was preserved intact under its own rulers, who enlisted the cooperation of Europeans of divers nationalities in transforming the country from a mediaeval into a modern State.

The first step in this direction was taken when King Mongkut (1851-68) engaged an English governess for his heir, and allowed American missionaries to teach the ladies of his court. His successor, Chulalongkorn (1868-1910), visited Java, India and Europe, and not only sent his sons to study abroad but encouraged his nobles to follow his example. He came to look on the monastic schools as inadequate to modern needs, and in 1891-92 tried to effect an improvement by incorporating them in a system of general public instruction under a Ministry of Education. Provision was made in the capital, Bangkok, for instructing officials, and members of the upper classes in the English language and Western learning, and youths were sent in larger numbers for higher studies abroad; but up to the end of the century the mass of the people depended on the monastery for their schooling.

Outside the schools, however, they were already gaining a far wider education in general experience. There was an Italian as instructor of the army; the navy was commanded by a Dane, with Danish and Norwegian officers, and the police, under a Dane, included English police officers from Burma; the Director of Railways was a German, and Germans were also in charge of the Posts and Telegraphs; an Englishman superintended the Forests, and Frenchmen the Medical and Engineering Departments; the Adviser on Foreign Affairs was successively a Belgian and an American, and there was an English Adviser on Finance. But alongside these foreign officials there were Siamese of high rank, gaining experience, and the subordinates were not foreigners, European, Indian or Chinese, as in some other parts of the Tropical Far East, but very largely natives. From these men, serving under foreign officials, and from the students sent to Europe, Thailand was gradually acquiring a modern education and a modern point of view far more effectively than through the schools, and a wider experience than in dependencies where the higher officials were all of one race and servants of the ruling power rather than of the local people.

Review

In this brief survey of the trend of educational progress in the Tropical Far East during the nineteenth century one outstanding feature is the striking synchronism of its course in the component regions. At the beginning of the century in all the countries under European rule we find humanitarian aspirations for the spread of education as a cultural asset: in the Charter of the English East India Company in 1813; in the Constitutional Regulation of 1818 for Netherlands India; under Raffles in Malaya; in the early days of civil rule in Burma; and in the dawn of Liberalism under Spanish rule in the Philippines. Humanitarian sentiment created a new atmosphere and gave a new color to policy, but had little practical effect until economic circumstances were propitious. Then in 1854 the East India Company laid the foundations of modern public instruction in India; in the same year a new Constitutional Law provided for native education under Dutch rule; in 1855 a Commission of Enquiry in the Philippines made regulations that took effect in a Code of Public Instruction in 1863; an Education Department was established in Burma in 1866, in Netherlands India in 1867, and in British Malaya as the result of a committee appointed in 1870. That year the opening of the Suez Canal led everywhere to a rapid growth of trade and a corresponding development of public instruction.

Again, we find all over the Tropical Far East a wide divergence between humanitarian ideals and practical achievements. From 1854 the Government of India gave the first place in its educational policy to raising the cultural level of the masses; Thorbecke wanted to spread light in Java; Phayre in Burma hoped to build up general instruction in the monastic school; the Malayan Government was chiefly concerned to promote the interests of the Malays; the Spaniards wanted every one to learn Spanish; and the French sought to create a new France in Asia. But everywhere the people failed to respond to these advances.

The most obvious failure was in respect of primary vernacular instruction. The natives voluntarily sent their children to the monastic schools, the Koran schools or the schools teaching the Chinese classics; but they were indifferent or hostile to the new secular State schools, except in so far as these promoted individual material advancement. Lay vernacular instruction made slow progress in the towns, where it was of value to the growing class of traders and artisans, but in a preponderantly agricultural society it failed to reach the countryside. The peoples continued in their ancient prejudices and superstitions, unenlightened by the learning of the West, and at the same time in those countries with an old educational tradition, the native schools were losing their pupils and their influence.

On the other hand, Western letters were making rapid headway among the official classes. Schools teaching the appropriate and most useful European language enabled the pupils to earn good pay, conferred a social status and prospects of advancement; and these schools were overcrowded with lads seeking instruction, or at any rate a diploma, as a means of livelihood. But almost the only opening for them was as clerks or subordinates in government or commercial service, and the training in school, though nominally literary and academic, was in fact narrowly vocational. The more ambitious and intelligent men who went to Europe for higher studies but could find no suitable employment on their return, became centers of discontent. Practically the only profession freely open to large numbers of natives was the law, and lawyers multiplied exceedingly wherever there was a demand for them. All this was very different from the roseate hues of the early dawn of Liberalism. The advocates of education had expected to promote Christianity and Western culture, and to forge new links between the Western rulers and their Eastern subjects. But they had created enemies and a reaction against Western rule.

How far was this reaction caused by the ideas implanted by Western education, and how far did it result from the limitation of economic circumstances under which education labored? In their educational policy the colonial powers had not only possessed like aims but common principles. They accepted the fundamental postulates of Liberalism that economic progress is best forwarded by leaving every one to pursue his private interest without interference by the State, and that economic progress is the key to general welfare. On these principles they assumed that economic progress would make for enlightenment; and they thought to spread enlightenment by promoting economic progress. They placed economic progress first and gave enlightenment the second place, looking on it as a by-product of progress. In their primary aim they were successful in the enrichment of the world and their own material advantage. How far the great mass of the dependent peoples profited materially is questionable, but there is general agreement that on the spiritual plane they were impoverished; the Eastern schools decayed and with them native culture and religion. Western statesmen had looked to transform oriental society by education; they brought into existence a new society, not however by education but by economic forces; and this new

87/ society transformed the character of education. While the leaders of the people learned in school that the whole duty of man was to get on in the world, the mass of the people remained untouched by Western culture, and beneath the surface the fires of reaction against the Western world were smouldering.

EQUIVALENCE OF LOCAL GRADES AND STANDARDS

V = Vernacular; *E-V* = European-Vernacular; *E* = European

Norm	*Burma*(a)		*Neth. Indies*(b)		*Formosa*		*Indo-China*	*Malaya*	*Philippines*	*Thailand*
							Elementary, *V*	Malay *V*		
								I		
							I	II		
							II	III		
							III	IV		
Primary	Primary		Lower		Primary		Primary	Primary *E*	Primary	Primary
	V	*E-V*	*V*	*E-V*	*V*	*E*	Lower	Lower Class	*E*	*V*
	I				I		*E-V* & *E*	Upper Class	1	1
I	II	1	I		II		1	1	2	2
II	III	2	II	1	III	1	2	Middle	3	3
III	IV	3	III	2	IV	2	3	2	4	4
		4	IV	3	V	3	Upper	3	Intermediate	Secondary
	Secondary		V	4	VI	4	4	4		Lower
V		5	VI	5	Link	5	5	5	5	5
VI		6	VII	6	Link	6	6		6	6
VII		7	Link	7			7		7	7
Secondary	High	8	Mulo-Link		Middle		Secondary	Secondary	High	Secondary
		9	Mulo	8		7	8	6	8	Upper
VIII		10		9		8	9	7	9	8
IX	Univ.	1		10		9	10	Junior	10	9
X		2	Middle	11		10		Senior		10
XI				12		11		College		College
XII				13				3 Yrs.		1
XIII										2
Higher	Univ. 3 to 6 Yrs.		High School 4 to 6 Yrs.		Univ. 7 Yrs.		Univ. 3 to 5 Yrs.		Univ. 4 to 6 Yrs.	Univ. 3 to 6 Yrs.

(a) In Burma and Netherlands India the Vernacular Course continues to the Xth standard, but has no further link with the European-vernacular, though in Burma any one who has passed the Xth Vernacular may sit for the Xth Anglo-vernacular in English only. In Indo-China and Malaya the Vernacular goes on up to Standard VI.

(b) Pupils in Dutch schools go straight from Standard 7 to Standard 8; pupils from Standard 7 in other schools must spend a year in a preparatory class (Mulo-link) before going into Mulo proper in Standard 8.

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CHAPTER IV

EFFICIENCY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, 1900-1940

By the end of the nineteenth century Europe no longer granted the two main postulates of Liberal political philosophy. Experience had shown that unrestricted freedom of private enterprise is not the best method of promoting economic progress, and that economic progress is not in itself a sufficient guarantee of general welfare. In the interests of both efficiency and social justice, progress and welfare, there was a growing tendency to look for State aid to private enterprise and for State control over private enterprise on behalf of public welfare.

This new trend of thought reacted on colonial policy. In Britain it found expression in the doctrine of "the white man's burden" which "involved a new philosophy of politics and an ethical standard, serious and not ignoble"[1]; colonial statesmen in the Netherlands preached the "ethical" policy; and in French colonial theory "association" replaced "assimilation." At about the same time two new colonial powers emerged in the Tropical Far East; in 1895 Japan acquired Formosa, and in 1898 the United States took over the Philippines from Spain; and both framed their colonial policy in accordance with the new ideas, though applying them in different ways. Both aspects of the new policy implied a change of attitude to education which was regarded as a main instrument both of economic progress and human welfare; and once again, as in the early days of Liberalism, humanitarians and men of business joined forces in giving a new impulse to educational progress.

In the various countries of the Tropical Far East education, under the direction of a long series of transitory officials, had got into a rut. In India it was still held that "important benefits would be likely to accrue to Government and education by the

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[1] Buchan, J., *Memory Hold-the-Door* (1942), p. 125.

87/ relaxation of control," and less thought and vigilance was bestowed on the difficult and delicate problems of education than on problems of administration. In Indo-China "no one worried about such speculations." In Java a project of general public instruction put forward by a regent was waved aside as Utopian. "Qu'était l'enseignement aux indigènes dans la plupart des colonies et possessions d'outre-mer?" asked M. Louwers; and he replied "Bien peu de chose."[2] The system of instruction supplied the necessary subordinates for administration and commerce, and a generation that no longer felt the glow of early Liberal enthusiasm asked nothing more of it.

Yet forces, similar to those turning minds in Europe to ideas of efficiency and social justice, were at work below the surface in the East, threatening to ruffle this sluggish complacency. In some parts unemployment or insufficient pay or narrow prospects were fomenting discontent among the educated classes; in some cheap immigrant labor was stirring up resentment among the lower classes; everywhere debt was a growing burden on the peasant. Economic forces were loosening the bonds of social order and sapping the religious foundations of oriental life. All the material of political unrest was available for leaders with the skill to use it, and these were found among men who had learned the technique of party politics in Europe. Some merely wanted better jobs. Others were more dangerous because they did not want to get anything out of Government but wanted Government to get out, and could stimulate the dormant antipathy of the masses to foreign ways of life by appealing to religion; Tilak in India, Ky-dong in Annam, Rizal and Aglipay and Aguinaldo in the Philippines all used a Western education to proclaim a challenge to the West. Thus when colonial governments were being urged from Europe to move forward, smouldering fires beneath the surface were making their seats uncomfortably warm.

Idealism and a genuine feeling for the common man played their part in the new policy. At the same time common sense suggested that if funds spent on training unemployables and agitators were diverted to enlighten the people by primary instruction, they would be more docile and contented, and better able to cooperate in the plans of a benevolent government for their well being and the appeal to religious sentiment would lose its sting. Other factors were turning educational policy in this direction. Economic forces were making for the industrialization of the East, and also for a new development of its agricultural and mineral resources along capitalist lines. Vast quantities of cheap labor, local or imported, were available, but modern methods of production required labor that was reasonably intelligent as well as cheap. Primary instruction, it was hoped, would sharpen the laborer's intelligence and make him able and willing to work harder and more continuously and to have greater regard for the sanctity of contract[3],—the only saint in the Calendar of Mammon. Capitalist enterprise also required cheap technical subordinates; and technical instruction was expected to supply these, and also to make for prosperity and contentment by providing employment for the surplus of school graduates and by promoting better cultivation. The cultural and social defects of the system of public instruction were also gaining recognition, and remedies were sought in the encouragement of female education and in ethical and religious teaching.

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[2] Chirol, V., *Indian Unrest* (1910) pp. 212, 238; Harmand, *op. cit.*, p. 256; Bert, J. Chailley, *Java et ses Habitants* (1900), p. 300; Institut Colonial International, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Here then are the main features of the new educational policy that took shape at the beginning of the present century. It aimed especially at developing primary and technical instruction, it regarded literary and academic studies with disfavor, but laid great stress on the education of girls and at promoting high moral standards in the schools. But before this policy was well under way, all the combustible material, long ready to take fire, burst suddenly into flame with the victory of Japan over Russia. This did much to give a new stimulus and a new aspect to the growing impatience of foreign rule; hitherto it had been for the most part critical, seditious, destructive, but now it was inspired by a new constructive patriotism. Formerly

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[3] Chirol, V., *op. cit.*; *Mayhew, Education of India,* p. 226; Mayhew, *Education in the Colonial Empire* (1938), pp. 94, 141, 143.

Orientals had despised Western learning except for its bread and butter value; now they sought it as an instrument of liberation. The nationalists urged the importance of the vernaculars as a vehicle of the nationalist spirit, pressed for more scientific and technical instruction with a view to mastering the magic of the West, and demanded religious instruction in the schools as a prophylactic against the solvent influence of Western individualism. Superficially the nationalist policy in education had much in common with the official program. Nationalists and officials were in general agreement about educational machinery, but they wanted to use it for different purposes. Let us examine how it worked, and with what results.

Burma

In 1900 Burma was still a province of India, where Curzon (1898-1905), a fervent apostle of the doctrine of efficiency, devoted special attention to the problems of education. He appointed a committee to consider them and in 1904 published a Resolution expounding his new policy.[4] This recognized that education had come to be of economic rather than of cultural value. "In India, far more than in England, the majority of students who frequent the higher schools and universities are there for the purpose of qualifying themselves to earn an independent livelihood" . . . and the desire "to realize the manifold advantages as soon and as cheaply as possible tends to prevent both schools and colleges from filling their proper position as places of liberal education." As regards primary instruction Lord Curzon cited with approval the dictum that "among all the sources of administrative difficulty and political danger, few were so serious as the ignorance of the people"; from the economic standpoint, moreover, ignorance placed the cultivator at a disadvantage in commercial transactions and hampered welfare projects. He directed therefore that elementary vernacular instruction should be made a leading charge on provincial revenues, and "its encouragement should be a primary obligation." In secondary schools the course was "too literary in character." Hitherto technical instruction had been "mainly directed to the higher forms of technical instruction required to train men for government service"; the pupils in the few industrial schools looked chiefly to qualify for clerical employment at less cost than in the ordinary schools; and, though agriculture was the chief occupation, some provinces, including Burma made no attempt to teach it, and in others the schools had failed either to produce experts or to attract agriculturists. Now there was a need of technical instruction for the development of Indian industries, especially those resting on Indian capital, and special heed should be given to agricultural instruction; further, after the example of Japan and Siam, men should be sent abroad for higher technical studies. With a view to emphasizing the cultural rather than the economic aspect of education, he encouraged the provision of extra funds for female education, as by this "a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than through the education of men." He also alluded to the general belief that "an education modelled upon European principles and, so far as concerned government institutions, purely secular in character, had stimulated tendencies unfavourable to discipline and encouraged a spirit of irreverence." For a remedy he suggested the provision of "moral textbooks and primers of personal ethics" and a stricter departmental supervision over schools and pupils.

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[4] Annexed to the *Report on the Progress of Education in India,* 1892-1902.

In this Resolution Lord Curzon had in mind Indian problems rather than those of Burma. In Burma the proportion of literate males was three times and that of females five times the proportion in Madras, Bombay or Bengal; hardly any one had been to Europe for higher studies, and although a few students had obtained Calcutta degrees there was no local university; the output from Western schools was still inadequate to the demand for clerks, and there was no unemployment and no unrest; industrial development had not yet begun, and it could be claimed that Burma "stands high in respect of discipline and moral training."[5] Thus the new educational program could be drawn up on a blank sheet.

Burma had its own problems. One was the strength of the

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[5] *Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1899-1900*, p. 7.

87 indigenous system of monastic schools. These could neither be incorporated in a secular State system nor disregarded; they gave Burma its high standard of literacy and were the only means of education in more than two-thirds of the villages, but they were not amenable to departmental regulations, their curriculum was limited and their method of teaching out of date. Another problem was that of the Indian immigrant. Burma had been conquered and governed from India. Indians, through long association with the British, were accustomed to modern business methods and, with a lower standard of living, would accept lower wages. With these advantages they had secured a stranglehold on commercial and industrial life and pushed Burmans out into the jungle where they had an advantage over the Indians as cultivators. In commerce the clerks were mostly Indians, and even in government service Indians filled the posts requiring technical qualifications. Naturally, when the Japanese victory over Russia bore fruit in nationalism, one of the demands of Burman nationalists was that places filled by Indians should be given to Burmans. In other respects the nationalist education policy in Burma followed the usual lines: Burmans pressed for scientific, vocational and technical instruction; they advocated, though with less zeal, primary education and urged that it should be made compulsory; they wanted Burmese to find a larger place in the Anglo-vernacular curriculum, and English to be taught in the vernacular schools; they insisted also that facilities should be given for instruction in the Buddhist faith. For a time there was a move to cut loose from the official educational system on the ground that it fostered a "slave mentality," and National Schools were founded which in their early days refused government assistance. But all this was a later development. In the early days of the new official policy at the beginning of the century nothing of this kind was anticipated.

The doctrine of efficiency through closer State control was emphasized by the local Government in official Resolutions[6] by the Director of Public Instruction in 1906.[7]

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[6] *Ibid., 1897-1902,* Resolution.

[7] Cited by Campbell, *op. cit.,* p. 133.

"Educationally the axis of the Province has been shifting. *Laissez faire* principles, which preferred to leave the guidance and practical management of education to private bodies or persons more or less irresponsible and with very varying views of the needs of the educated and the ends of education, have been tempered by a fuller sense of the State's obligations in the matter. In effect these obligations have a two-fold relation: they concern the State itself on the one hand, and on the other those whom for the State's sake and their own it is necessary to educate. As thus conceived education is not the necessary accident of a religious propaganda nor the provision of careers in life for various sections of the community. It is rather a vital and essential element in the organic life of the State itself."

In future education was to place first the welfare of the State, and next the welfare of the child, while religion as an element in education was an unnecessary accident. This view found expression in a less sympathetic attitude towards the monastic school, where most of the children learned their letters, and thereby hampered the campaign for extending primary instruction. The Director, while still claiming to base vernacular work on the monastic school, described the monks as "very ignorant, or very bigoted, or both."[8] By 1906 the lay schools (2,899) outnumbered the monastic schools (2,369), and ten years later there were 5,066 against 3,418.[9] In the following year, 1917, vernacular education was made over to local bodies, which had not sufficient funds to maintain all the schools and struck the less efficient off the register. Again in 1921 a new Director from India opened another campaign against inefficiency. The effect of these measures was to reduce the number of recognized monastic schools to 1,434 in 1921, though the schools struck off the registers went on working as before.

The decline caused some perturbation, and in 1924 the question of vernacular education was studied by a special committee. Its report is interesting as an index to the official conception of efficiency. It suggests that "the school's existence should be that of efficiency. . . . The efficiency of the schools

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[8] *Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1897-1902,* p. 41.

[9] For these and subsequent figures see Campbell, *op. cit.,* p. 136.

871 should be tested yearly by the results of a first public examination, as well as by other tests, if necessary, and those that fail to reach the desired level should be removed from the register or suffer such other penalty as may be laid down."[10] A further inquiry into vernacular education was held in 1936; the committee held that the monastic schools were of little value as institutions for secular education, and all expedients to bend them to secular purposes had failed. In 1933 there were 4,967, lay schools with 364,669 pupils but the number of registered monastic schools had fallen to 928 with 79,135 pupils; it was estimated that there were some 17,000 to 18,000 unregistered monastic schools with 200,000 pupils. The progress since 1900 is summarized in the following table.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION, 1900-1940[11]

Year	a. No. of pupils at all recognized institutions. b. Per cent of population		a. No. of pupils at unrecognized institutions.* b. Per cent of population		Literacy per cent a. Male b. Female c. Both		
	a	*b*	*a*	*b*	*a*	*b*	*c*
1900	159,394	1.72	147,682	1.62	37.6	6.1	22.1
1940	613,938	3.64	213,294	1.26	56.0	16.5	36.8

* Figures for unrecognized institutions are only approximate.

Figures for "literacy" must needs be somewhat arbitrary; probably many more, if pressed, could write their names and spell out simple notices. Female literacy is highest among Christian Karens (in 1921) with 27.7 per cent as against 12.2 per cent for Burmese Buddhist women, and 4.9 for Buddhist Karens. Despite the progress during the present century the Committee of 1936 put the figure for children of school-going age (6-11) at 1.6 million with 0.4 million at recognized institutions, and 1.0 million not at any school.[12] Moreover, of the pupils in registered schools 75 per cent did not go beyond Standard I and 87 per cent failed to complete the IV standard,

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[10] Cited by Campbell, *op. cit.*, 141

[11] *Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1900-01; Statesman's Yearbook, 1941.*

[12] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

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reckoned as the minimum for permanent literacy.[13] It would seem therefore that only a small proportion of the registered schools produce much better results from the scholastic standpoint than the unregistered schools, while these still turn out men who, with no other schooling, may rise to be magistrates.

One recommendation of the Committee of 1924 was that 250 lay schools should be opened annually for five years in the poorer districts. The actual number opened in accordance with this plan was 1231.[14] But the results were deemed incommensurate with the cost, "the difficulty was to create a demand for the school," and opinion turned towards compulsory education. This was urged by some nationalist leaders and found support among educational authorities. A bill was drafted in 1928 and after consideration laid before the Legislature in 1932, but the cost was regarded as excessive and the difficulties as insuperable. The Committee of 1936 expressed the opinion that "the child cannot be left indefinitely to the mismanagement of ignorant parents"[15] and, deprecating criticism for its "excess of caution," recommended compulsory attendance up to the end of Standard II, for all children voluntarily enrolled in a recognized school. The proposal however was deemed premature; experience in other provinces of India had shown the difficulty of enforcing compulsion except against a recalcitrant minority, and before any such measure could be effective it would be necessary to educate "ignorant parents" to send their children for instruction.

The great obstacle was the lack of demand. The vernacular schools led nowhere. There was a "bridge" from Standard IV in Vernacular schools to Standard III in Anglo-vernacular schools, but of the few students eligible for "bridge scholarships"—some 250 a year—only about one half received them, and after 1934-35 only a quarter.[16] From 1927-28 those who passed the Xth Standard Vernacular were eligible for an Anglo-vernacular certificate on passing in English only. Otherwise the

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[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 153.

[14] *Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1928-29*, p. 13; *ibid., 1927-32*, p. 20.

[15] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 190; *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1931-32*, p. 145; *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1933-37*, p. 23.

87/ vernacular pupil had no prospects except as teacher in a vernacular school.[17] The recognition of English as a second language in the early 'twenties reduced wastage in the lower standards in those few schools that could comply with the conditions, and the closing of the lower standards in government Anglo-vernacular schools forced some children into the vernacular schools.[18] But in general the lay vernacular school outside the towns taught the child neither a better way of life nor a better means of living and, without endorsing the description of primary vernacular instruction given by the Committee of 1936 as a picture of "almost unrelieved gloom,"[19] it may be said that progress had certainly come far short of the objective set up at the beginning of the century.

In respect of more advanced instruction there was a still more striking contrast between intentions and results. "The accepted principles," said a Resolution of 1900, "are that Provincial Funds should devote proportionally more money to primary and less to secondary instruction."[20] But in 1937, as compared with 1900, there were 8 times as many pupils in the middle standards (V-VII), 25 times as many in the higher standards (VIII-X), and 15 times as many in the colleges. Meanwhile most money had been spent on the most advanced instruction by the establishment, in 1920, of the University of Rangoon.

PUPILS IN VARIOUS STAGES, 1900 and 1937[21]

1900			*1937*		
Middle	*High*	*Collegiate*	*Middle*	*High*	*Collegiate*
4,997	556	140	41,719	14,249	2,165

These Anglo-vernacular schools were situated in the towns. Of the total secondary school population 30 per cent were concentrated in Rangoon.[22] The course trained the pupils for urban life, and there were not sufficient openings for their employment. Thus by the force of economic circumstances there came into existence the surplus of educated unemployables which Government had foreseen and which the new educational policy had been intended to prevent. On that policy technical rather than academic studies were to be encouraged for pupils in the higher grades. In 1900 there were no organized institutions for technical instruction and, "strictly speaking, no technical education."[23] There was a class for lawyers attached to Rangoon College, but doctors had to go to India for training, though nurses and midwives could be trained in Burma. "It is a popular cry" wrote the Director in 1900, "that technical education should be more largely introduced, and this form of education is spoken of as the great means of reforming the country."[24] At that time only the European community was vocal, but with the growth of Nationalism Burmans added their voice to the cry for technical instruction. Experiments were discouraging. In one town a technical school was founded with public subscriptions; costly buildings were erected and classes in various subjects were arranged, but pupils could not be attracted without stipends, and the school was finally closed as useless because there were no industries.[25] So far as a demand existed students were forthcoming, as for a weaving institute and technical classes for mechanics, etc., in Rangoon. But advantage of these opportunities was chiefly taken by Indians who were cheaper than Burmans to employ, and had fewer openings on the land and in the administrative services.

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[17] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[18] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1927-32,* p. 21; *ibid., 1933-37,* p. 20.

[19] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[20] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1897-1902,* p. 3.

[21] *Ibid., 1900-01* and *1933-37.*

[22] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

The problem of technical instruction was examined by a committee in 1927. This criticized the ordinary school curriculum as "divorced from realities" and made proposals for expanding technical instruction, but these remained ineffective for lack of funds.[26] By this time the output of the schools was catching up with the demand for clerks, and the unemployment of school graduates was beginning to attract attention. The matter was re-examined, together with vernacular education, by another committee in 1936, but this did little more than lay down two principles: one that vocational education should not begin until the pupil has completed a sound "liberal" education; and the other that the provision of vocational education should be related to an actual demand for specific technical qualifications.[27] During a discussion in the Legislature it was suggested that "only criminals and defectives could obtain technical education in Burma." The Director accepted the criticism as "in the main true as regards school children,"[28] but for other persons thought the provision not inconsiderable for an agricultural country. There is, in fact, provision for instruction in medicine, law, forestry, veterinary science, teaching, engineering, industry, commerce, and art. But the total number receiving instruction under all these heads in 1937 was only 2,488, which is not very adequate for a population of over 16 million; and of these 1,269 were training as teachers and 613 were in commercial schools, leaving only 559 under all other heads. The separate figures are given in the table below. It seems that among students of university standing only 32 out of 79 in the law school were Burmese Buddhists, in Medicine 23 out of 147, in Education 55 out of 141 and in Engineering 16 out of 54. In the schools they were better represented, but these led only to subordinate appointments. In Medicine there were 42 Burman Buddhists out of 103, in Engineering 52 out of 75, in Education 880 out of 1,128, in Forestry 28 out of 47, and in Commerce 344 out of 613. But as Burmans form some 85 per cent of the population these figures are not very

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[23] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1897-1902,* p. 29.

[24] *Ibid., 1899-1900,* p. 4.

[25] Campbell, *op. cit., p.* 392.

[26] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1927-32,* p. 23.

NUMBER OF TECHNICAL STUDENTS, 1937

	In Colleges	*In Schools*
Law	79	..
Medicine	147	103
Education	141	1,128
Engineering	54	75
Industrial	..	39
Veterinary	..	17
Forestry	..	47
Commerce	..	613
Art	..	45

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[27] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

[28] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1927-32*, p. 29.

satisfactory to Nationalists. The only schools classed under Vocation and Special Education in which Burmans preponderated were the Reformatories, where they numbered 308 out of 342, still less satisfactory, and giving some point to the gibe in the Legislature.

One subject is conspicuously absent from the above list, and that the most important—agriculture. Lord Curzon, in laying down the new policy, noted the absence of agricultural instruction in Burma. In 1924 an Agricultural College was opened but did not attract cultivators and closed in 1932 when recruitment for the department ceased. A vernacular school for cultivators, maintained by the American Baptist Mission, had at one time over sixty pupils,[29] and was well spoken of, but is not mentioned in recent departmental reports. From time to time great stress has been laid on the educational value of school gardens. But they were never popular with the pupils or their parents and were only maintained by schools "for the purpose of getting grants. When the grants ceased the gardens disappeared," and between 1933 and 1937 the number of school gardens fell from 395 to 19.[30] Thus "the all pervading bookishness and the dissociation of education generally from life and occupation" are still, as in 1900, among the chief defects of the system of instruction; it is not designed for a farmer's country, its whole bias is literary."[31] But it meets the economic demand, and the unsatisfactory progress of technical instruction, as of primary instruction, is due to the difficulty of organizing a demand for it. More perhaps might have been done for the teaching of natural science in schools, as this is the basis of most technical or vocational instruction. But this found a place in the curriculum only of recent years and on a very modest scale. In 1936 ten Anglo-vernacular High Schools gave teaching in chemistry and physics, and one only, a girls' school, in botany and zoology; eleven vernacular High Schools professed to teach "General Science," but the course included no laboratory work.[32] The suggestion of Lord Curzon that students should be sent to Europe for higher technical studies was disregarded for some years, but just before the depression of the 'thirties the number sent averaged eight a year. The scheme was then suspended for three years, and on its revival seventeen in all were sent in two years.[33] But not a few of those sent abroad failed to find employment on their return.

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[29] *Indian Statutory Commission, 1930,* Vol. XI, p. 509.

[30] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1933-37,* p. 37.

[31] Campbell, *op. cit.,* p. 2; *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1933-37,* p. 28.

The progress of female education has been much more satisfactory. The figures for the number of girls in each stage of instruction are compared in the table for 1900 and 1937. In the latter year nearly one third of the children in school were girls. The university and the village schools are co-educational, and so are many of the Middle and High Schools. The proportion of girls who do not get beyond the two lowest standards, however, is higher even than for boys. Those who continue their studies further look very largely to the teaching profession, and their enthusiasm was dampened when access to this was restricted.

FEMALE EDUCATION[34]

	1900	*1937*
College	4	403
High School	63	2,436
Middle School	554	9,376
Upper Primary	1,103	34,367
Lower Primary	4,089	171,429
Total	5,813	218,011

"What beacon of light," asks an Inspectress, "can we hold up to induce girls to seek education in higher departments when the only profession open to educated women has been almost killed by abolishing the teachers' training classes?"[35] Karen and Burmese Christians, however, seem to place a higher value on education as a cultural asset. There has always been a tradition of female education in Burma. It may be a pious fiction that during the great age of Burma, about the time of the Norman conquest of England, the girls used to study the Pali scriptures over their cooking pots, but the legend has colored social life.[36] As already noticed, a tenth of the female prisoners were returned as literate in the Census of 1872. There has always been a potential demand for female education, and the growth of trade, which is largely in the hands of the women, has enhanced the value of the schools. Under Burmese rule girls had no access to the monastic schools; only under British rule have they have been given facilities for schooling, and they have taken good advantage of them. Even in monastic schools the prejudice against co-education is breaking down, and of the 8,114 Burman Buddhist girls attending unrecognized institutions in 1937 probably the great majority were in monastic schools.

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[32] Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

[33] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma, 1927-32*, p. 28; *ibid., 1933-37*, p. 29; see also *1928-29*, p. 18.

[34] *Ibid., 1933-37*, p. 24. Other figures suggest a rather different total.

[35] *Ibid., 1927-32.*

One reason for the stress laid on female education in 1900 was that it would impart an impulse to the educational and moral tone of the people. In respect of discipline and moral training the schools in Burma were regarded as satisfactory, but new directions were given for the voluntary provision of religious instruction in all the schools. Most lay vernacular schools already included "religious instruction" in their syllabus, but this might signify nothing beyond the teaching of the Burmese alphabet. In the mission school the pupils were expected to take part in the general devotional exercises and to attend the classes in religious instruction. Many lads passed from one school to another. As small boys in the monastery they would be taught the vanity of human wishes; then in a Roman school they would be exhorted to avoid the heresies of Wyclif and Huss; if they went on to a Protestant school, the class would start the day with a prayer for success in the forthcoming examination, and they would probably end their school life in a government institution, where success in the examination was the only thing that mattered. With the growth of Nationalism the practice of imparting Christian instruction to Buddhist boys gave agitators a weapon for attacking a Govern-

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[36] See, for example, the Census Report for 1872, which describes Burma as "a country where female education was a reality, before Oxford was founded."

871 ment which, if not Christian, was at any rate not Buddhist. In response to the agitation, Government introduced a "conscience clause," of which not many parents took advantage.[37] When the political reforms placed education under a Burmese Minister, the instruction of Buddhist pupils in their own religion, formerly encouraged, was made compulsory in all Government and lay schools.[38]

Meanwhile the schools were losing their high moral tone. "The morals of the school boys were constantly under discussion." And, what was more disconcerting, the district with the best record for education was equally conspicuous for crime, and was also the center of the most serious rebellion that has ever troubled British rule. On this matter there were two schools of thought. Burmese opinion favored a good knowledge of the Buddhist Scriptures as an antidote to all moral evils, whereas educational officials trusted more to closer supervision, football, physical training, and the boy-scout movement.[39] Cleanliness was the next best thing to Godliness, and much easier for inspecting officers to assess, but teachers who preached hygiene seldom practiced it.[40] Neither religious instruction nor football restored the earlier high standards. In five years, 1932-37, there were over thirty school strikes. It was a common practice for schools to obtain grants in ways that would have been fraudulent if not condoned by the department.[41] For seventy years Government had been trying to secularize the monastic schools; now it seemed that "how to spiritualize education was the real problem."[42]

From this brief review of progress under the various heads of the new policy laid down by Lord Curzon, it seems clear that it had not achieved the results anticipated. On the contrary, although in Burma it began with a clean sheet, yet in the next generation education in Burma followed along much the same lines as under the old policy in India and produced the same unsatisfactory results that the new policy was intended to prevent. We shall be in a better position to inquire into the reasons when we have examined the course of educational progress elsewhere.

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[37] *Ibid.*, 1928-29, p. 24.

[38] *Ibid.*, 1927-32, p. 37.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 17; *Report of the Bribery and Corruption Committee, 1941*, p. 34.

[42] *Report on Public Instruction, Burma* [illegible]37, p. 40.

Malaya[43]

At the end of the nineteenth century conditions in Malaya had much in common with conditions in Burma. The Malays had been left behind by the course of progress, and industry and commerce were dominated by Europeans and foreign Asiatics. Although there was no unrest or unemployment, and the output from the schools was still inadequate to the demand, the system of public instruction was criticized on much the same grounds as in India. It was said to be "unpractical, to make the people litigious, to inspire a distaste for manual and technical work, and to create a class of literary malcontents, useless to their communities and a source of trouble to the Empire."[44] The remedies proposed were also very similar; closer State control, and the encouragement of vernacular and technical instruction.

A more active policy in education was indicated by the appointment in 1901 of a Director of Public Instruction for the whole of the Straits Settlements. To promote "a due measure of uniformity in administration and educational aims,"[45] his charge was extended in 1906 to cover the Federated States. One feature of this appointment deserves special notice. The Director has always been a member of the Civil Service and not of the Education Service. To foster education among an illiterate people is an administrative rather than an educational problem and requires an intimate knowledge of the people rather than scholastic experience; and the fact that in Malaya education has been directed by men acquainted with the people in their homes and not only with the children in school probably goes far to account for the measure of success attained. Further evi-

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[43] The statistical and other information in this paragraph does not cover the Unfederated States, which it has not been found practicable to include.

[44] Wilkinson, R. J., *The Education of Asiatics*, Special Report, 1902 (cd. 835).

[45] *Education Report*, 1938, p. 8.

87 dence of the renewed interest in education at the turn of the century appeared in the appointment, in 1902, of a Commission to examine the existing system.

Vernacular instruction among the Malays had already made considerable progress, but parents were still reluctant to send their children to school even though buildings, quarters, staff, equipment and books all cost them nothing, and in 1908 the provisions for compulsory attendance, already applied in the States, were extended to the Colony. By this time Malay rulers were looking to modern education as a means whereby their people could withstand Chinese and Indian competition; and their influence, together with the growth of national feeling among the Malays, did much to reconcile the people to secular instruction. But the vernacular schools still led nowhere; even the boys who became eligible for free education in an English school by completing the vernacular course were usually too old to profit by the concession. In 1918 it was made conditional on their having completed the course before their eleventh birthday, and boys admitted under this scheme were given an intensive course in English. This effective link with the English schools made the vernacular schools more attractive. Thus by a combination of gentle pressure and good prospects vernacular education made such progress that now compulsion is almost superfluous and the difficulty now is to find accommodations for all who wish to enter. At the Census of 1931 there were returned as literate 35.5 per cent of the men and 7.6 per cent of the women, with 21.1 per cent for both sexes together, while of the rising generation 80 per cent of the boys and 20 per cent of the girls were said to be attaining literacy.[46] The details of those at school are given below.

A new feature of the present century has been the provision of vernacular schools for non-Malays. Formerly this was deprecated as tending to keep them foreigners; but such considerations lost their force in the new zeal for economic efficiency, and in 1902 it was "decided to open Government schools for Tamils . . . with the object of making the Federated Malay States, from the point of view of the Indian immigrant, an outlying portion of India, like Ceylon."[47] With the development of rubber, Indian coolies were wanted in large numbers; the provision of Tamil schools was found to encourage immigration, and planters came to recognize the advantage of opening schools on their estates.

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[46] *Census Report, 1931*, p. 91.

That a large alien population has political and economic disadvantages is, however, already evident in regard to Chinese immigration. The Chinese have always predominated in the English schools, and have also arranged for the instruction of boys outside the English schools. The creation of the Chinese Republic stimulated them to new zeal in founding schools to give their children a modern education in their own tongue. From 1920, *kuo yu,* the "national language," was adopted as the basis of their system, and the textbooks were found to contain much political and anti-foreign matter. These were banned both in Malaya and in Netherlands India, and the publishers arranged to avoid further loss by printing special books for European dependencies. Better control over Chinese schools was obtained by the introduction, in 1924, of a system of grants-in-aid to approved schools, though few took advantage of it before the great depression.[48] Another recent development tending to improve the relations of the Chinese schools with the Government has been the introduction of English as a second language. The basis of control over these and other schools however, rests on the Registration of Schools Ordinance of 1920, requiring the registration of all secular schools attended by ten or more pupils.[49]

As regards the English schools the position has entirely changed since the beginning of the century. Then any one with a smattering of English could get a job, and employers complained bitterly of having to pay high wages to lads who were clerks "neither in *esse* nor in *posse*."[50] The supply of clerks gradually caught up with the demand and, with the depression of the 'thirties, overtook it; now, highly qualified men cannot

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[47] Special Report (Cd. 2379), *Federated Malay States,* p. 11 n.

[48] Mills, Lennox A., *British Rule in Eastern Asia* (1942), p. 358 n.

[49] *Education Report, 1938,* p. 23.

[50] Special Report (Cd. 2379), p. 21.

87/ find employment. This threatens "economic disorganization and social unrest," and "one of the gravest problems of today is to devise types of instruction fitting the youth of Malaya for such careers as the country offers." Attempts to reduce the output from schools under Government control merely had the effect of sending more boys to private schools run solely for profit. The table shows that, despite the rapid progress of Malay vernacular schools, the English schools went ahead still faster, and in these schools the Malays lag far behind. Above the Malay classes for students from vernacular schools the Primary Grade in English schools comprises a Lower and Upper Primary Class and Standard I; next comes the Middle Grade (Standards II to V), and then the Secondary Grade with Standards VI and VII and a Junior and Senior Certificate class; one or two schools have a Post-Certificate or High School class.

NUMBER OF PUPILS, 1900 and 1938[81]

Type of School	*1900*	*1938* *Boys*	*1938* *Girls*
Vernacular			
Malay	13,898	59,383	22,984
Chinese	..	66,645	24,889
Indian	..	17,484	8,222
English	9,157	44,323	18,541
Total	23,055	187,835	74,636

The surplus of school graduates has revived interest in technical education. One of the questions examined by the Commission of 1902 was how to give the system of instruction a more practical bent. Further inquiries were made in 1917, 1918 and 1926. The Commission of 1902 reported that there was no demand for commercial or technical training, but recommended that instruction should be provided in lieu of scholarships to Europe, and suggested the inclusion of science in the school curriculum. The scholarships were reduced in number and in 1910-11 abolished; but this discouraged students from going beyond the VIIIth standard, and they had to be restored. A science master was appointed to one school until the war took him away and temporarily extinguished the teaching of science. In 1926 the Committee regarded the circumstances as still unpropitious for technical instruction. In industry "the principal need of the country is unskilled manual labour, which is supplied by the Chinese and Indian immigrants." "We fear," they said, "that many of the youth of this country have a genuine distaste for hard and continuous manual labour"—shared, not improbably, by most members of the Committee.

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[81] *Education Report, 1938*, pp. 77, 80, 81, 82. Other figures suggest a rather different total.

PROPORTION OF PUPILS IN ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR SCHOOLS[52]

	Per cent		
	S. S.	*F. M. S.*	*Malaya*
English	8.2	4.1	6.6
Malay	7.3	18.2	11.7
Chinese	70.9	49.0	62.0
Indian	12.5	28.0	18.8
Others	1.1	0.7	0.9

For technicians the number of openings was limited,[53] and most of the skilled workmen were Chinese, so that Indians and Malays, and even local-born Chinese, had little chance of employment. In the Committee's opinion "the most important educational need of the moment" was an agricultural school.

For some years the Agricultural Department had been recruiting Asiatics, and since 1924 had made provision for instructing them. In private enterprise also there was a limited demand for local men with some knowledge of agriculture. An Agricultural School was opened in 1931, providing a choice of elementary or advanced courses, but stipends had to be granted to attract Malays. The ensuing depression enlarged the field for employment, as Asiatics were wanted in place of Europeans whom the estates could no longer afford to entertain. But the planters preferred Chinese and, though the Agricultural Department gave a preference to Malays, its demands were limited. Very little success seems to have been attained in enabling cultivators to work their land more profitably.

As regards industry, the 1926 Committee seems to have looked at technical instruction too much from the standpoint of big business. For, as elsewhere in the East, the petrol engine has given the local people a fresh start at less disadvantage with their competitors. Not only did Malays come forward to train as fitters and mechanics in European workshops, but many started their own small establishments or set up as taxi drivers. A Trade School was started in 1926 to help them and was so successful that tailoring, carpentry and furniture making were added, though the last two gave less favorable results, as most of the employers are Chinese and refuse to entertain Malay labor.

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[52] *Education Report, 1938.*

[53] Cited, Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

The Queens' Scholarships were restored in 1923 in the Colony and 1931 in the States—two to each, with one in the States reserved for Malays. Many private students, especially Chinese, go abroad for study. In 1938 students from the Colony numbered 73 in Britain, 47 in Hongkong, 1 in China, 10 in India, 9 in the United States, and 5 elsewhere; figures for the Federated States are not available. The teaching of science was resumed about 1925 and is now popular in the few schools where it is provided.

Professional education began with the opening of a Medical School at the instance of the Chinese community in 1905. Originally it aimed merely at training medical subordinates and "local practitioners in racial sympathy with the peoples of Malaya,"[54] but so rapid was its progress that in 1916 its degrees were recognized by the British General Medical Council. The planters recognized the value of medical attention to their coolies and in 1939, 40 per cent of the graduates were in private practice.[55] The great obstacle, however, is the difficulty of educating the people to appreciate Western medicine, despite strenuous propaganda. For a higher education in other branches of arts and science Raffles College was founded in 1928. It aims at giving a diploma equivalent to the pass degree of a university. Up to 1939, 48 per cent of the entrants failed to obtain diplomas, and of those who succeeded 82 per cent of the men and all the women took to teaching; 11 per cent obtained posts under Government, and only 3 per cent commercial posts. Of recent years, however, the surplus of would-be clerks has made a commercial training valuable, and some schools in Singapore prepare candidates for the examinations of the London Chamber of Commerce. In this matter, as in all branches of vocational and technical instruction, demand is the condition of progress, and it is because demand is lacking that progress is so slow. Details are given in the table. There are also 963 students in evening classes. Malays constitute the bulk of the students in education and make a good show in the trade schools but are less than ten per cent of the students of commerce.

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[54] *Education Report, 1938,* p. 15.

[55] Mills *op. cit.*, p. 368.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS RECEIVING TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION, 1938

	High School	*Technical School*
Education	160	469
Medicine	176	..
Engineering and Industry	154	640
Commerce	..	827
Agriculture	58	..

In female education there has been marvellously rapid progress. In 1900 there were only some five hundred girls at schools in the States, and the Malay girls' schools in the Colony were "very few and very ill-attended." "There is," said the Director, "no more absolutely ignorant, prejudiced and superstitious class of people in the world than the Straits-born Chinese woman. Almost the same may be said of Malay women and of a majority of the Eurasians."[57] But the Chinese were converted by the Revolution and their experience during the War,

FEMALE EDUCATION, 1938[56]

	Number of Students	
Schools	*S. S.*	*F. M. S.*
Vernacular		
Malay	6,324	16,660
Chinese	12,794	12,095
Indian	1,201	7,985
English	8,113	5,449
Private	4,988	

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[56] Special Reports (Cd. 2379). *Straits Settlements*, pp. 141, 148.

[57] *Education Report, 1938*, p. 77.

and their example kindled enthusiasm among the Malays, which developed rapidly from about 1928 and ten years later "the flood of applications for the admission of girls could not be stemmed."[58]

The policy in respect of religious and moral training is much the same as in other British dependencies. Religious instruction is given out of school hours; hostels are regarded as nurseries of virtue, and great importance is attached to school games, which are generally regarded as part of the curriculum popular with the Malays, though some Chinese who "want to learn in order to make money" are apt to grudge the time for recreation. It is doubtful how far the religious and ethical instruction is effective. Non-Christians often "take" religious knowledge in examinations under the impression that it is a soft option, and choose Paley's *Evidences of Christianity* at Cambridge for the same reason. Teachers of hygiene sleep in unventilated rooms and neglect the most elementary precautions as to food and drink that they impress daily on their pupils. Similarly they preach thrift though notoriously in debt. As the Director remarks, until they practice what they preach, their teaching is not likely to be successful.[59]

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[58] *Ibid.*, p. 77. Other figures suggest a rather different total.

[59] *Education Report, 1938*, pp. 89, 96. Special Report (Cd. 2379), Federated Malay States.

CHAPTER V

EFFICIENCY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, 1900-1940 (*Continued*)

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Netherlands India

Under Dutch rule the reaction against Liberalism in the direction of greater State activity to promote efficiency and social justice came to be known as the "ethical" policy. Moral uplift required firm government, so also did capitalist enterprise; and between 1900 and 1910 effective administration was rapidly extended over the Outer Provinces, hitherto neglected. The aim of the ethical policy was to readjust native society to the Western world; this involved the diffusion of vernacular and technical instruction and the provision of facilities for secondary instruction, such as had long been available to natives under British rule.

A prospect of the new policy in its educational and economic aspects was drafted at the request of Government by Fock, a Liberal who had long practiced as an advocate in Java. In 1907, as Colonial Minister, he included in his budget a comprehensive scheme for vernacular and technical instruction. He proposed to open a large number of Second Class Schools. These schools, known later as Standard Schools, are still the usual native schools in towns and resemble the urban vernacular school of Burma. But they were too costly for the villages, and Van Heutsz, the Governor-General, devised a simpler school, teaching the bare rudiments of the three R's, towards the cost of which the village and the parents should contribute. The chief obstacle was the reluctance of the parents to send their children to school. To bring the Department into closer touch with the people, the Director was given the help of an Adviser and Assistant-Adviser from the Civil Service[1] and, by the remission of fees, and by "gentle pressure" through the native officials who, on the Dutch system of indirect rule, retain much of their inherited authority, the prejudice was in part dispelled. There still remained the difficulty that these schools led nowhere. The same objection attached to the Standard Schools, though with less force, as these were helpful to petty traders and artisans. Dutch was the only avenue to social and material advancement. (Later, in 1922, by way of making the vernacular schools more attractive, "link" schools were to be established by which the pupils could find access to a new type of school where they might learn Dutch.)

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[1] *Regeerings-Almanak*, 1930, I, p. 350.

In 1903, in accordance with "ethical" principles, natives were re-admitted into European schools, where they could qualify as clerks. The consequent influx of natives threatened to destroy the European character of these schools, and, to relieve the pressure, Dutch was added to the curriculum of the First Class School. But the natives "valued Dutch only when it led to a Diploma."[2] The First Class Schools did not prepare students for the Clerkship (K. A.) Examination, and they remained unpopular, while the pressure on the European schools continued.

By this time nationalism was becoming a political force. The Chinese were the first to respond, and they began to modernize their schools and to introduce the teaching of English. This was prejudicial to Dutch political and economic interests, and it was arranged that Dutch-Chinese Schools should give much the same course as the European schools and enjoy the same privileges. A similar device was adopted for the First Class Schools, and the natives were thus enabled to obtain a complete primary education through the medium of Dutch. In 1914 the First Class Schools were re-classified as Dutch-Vernacular Schools, which involved no change in the curriculum but paved the way for fitting them into a comprehensive scheme for higher studies.

The new scheme involved the creation of schools where secondary education could be given. In the first instance the de-

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[2] H.-I. Onderwijs-Commissie, *Résumé*, p. 7.

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mand was met by providing schools for More Extended Lower Instruction (M. U. L. O.), or Mulo Schools. These were open to pupils from all schools on a Western basis, Dutch, Dutch-Chinese and Dutch-vernacular, but pupils from the Dutch-Chinese and Dutch-vernacular schools were placed in a preparatory class. The Mulo diploma corresponds approximately to Matriculation in British India. Some Mulo graduates wanted to go further and in 1919 their requirements were met by the creation of General Middle Schools, taking them up to the standard required for admission to a university in the Netherlands —approximately that of the Intermediate Examination in British India. Some Mulo graduates go on to vocational instruction, and some leave school; in 1926 the Mulo course was revised to provide suitably for all three types of student. Similarly, the General Middle School has three sections: Mathematics and General Science; Western Letters; and Oriental Letters.

Two features of the system deserve special notice. One is that in the Mulo Schools the pupils learn not only Dutch but also English and German, and thus have access to a wider field of Western learning than in British India, where few study any Western language except English. The other is the high standard of education. Generally throughout the East the high goal of study is the diploma and not the attainments that it represents, and this drags standards downwards. But in Netherlands India many European children will go to a university in Europe, and their parents demand instruction well up to the necessary standard; attainments are as important as diplomas. The whole system indeed is throughout linked up with that of the home schools. At every stage children in the Dutch schools in Netherlands India must be up to the work of the corresponding standard in Europe, when their parents are at home on leave, and at every stage children in the mixed schools must be able to enter the corresponding standard in a Dutch school. Thus the demand of European parents for a high level of education is diffused through all classes. The proportion of literacy is shown in the table below.

NUMBERS AT SCHOOL, 1900 and 1938[3]

Type and Grade of School	*1900*	*1938*			
	Total	*Native*	*Foreign Asiatic*	*European*	*Total*
Vernacular					
Rural	..	1,826,906	12,480	..	1,839,386
Urban	146,575	276,052	2,163	2	278,217
Chinese	13,349	65	2,200	..	2,265
Primary					
Dutch-Native	..	77,173	1,681	506	79,360
Dutch-Chinese	..	2,100	22,350	396	24,846
European	18,192(ᵃ)	5,236	1,436	39,015	45,687
Secondary					
Mixed	..	7,968	2,612	3,571	14,151
European	1,139(ᵇ)	724	838	4,845	6,407
Total	179,255	2,196,224	45,760	48,335	2,290,319

(ᵃ) Includes 1,921 non-Europeans; (ᵇ) Includes 19 non-Europeans.

LITERACY, 1930

Region	Per cent *Natives*	*Chinese*	*All Races*
Java			
Male	9.7	47.5	10.7
Female	1.4	16.0	1.9
Total	5.5	33.3	6.2
Outer Provinces			
Male	13.4	33.2	14.5
Female	4.0	7.7	4.2
Total	8.7	24.7	9.5
Netherlands India			
Male	10.8	39.5	11.9
Female	2.2	12.4	2.6
Total	6.4	28.9	7.2

It will be noticed that among natives the percentage of literacy is lower in Java than in the Outer Provinces which, although more backward from the economic standpoint, include districts, such as Menado and the Moluccas, that have long been active centers of missionary effort and contain a large proportion of Christians. Among the Chinese on the other hand the proportion is lower in the Outer Provinces, where coolies are numerous; in Java nearly one-half of the male Chinese are literate.

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[3] *Jaarcijfers, 1900; Statistical Abstract, 1940.*

Despite the growth of education the population has grown even faster, and in 1930 the number of children not at any recognized school was larger than in 1900. Moreover, the figures give an unduly favorable impression, as they do not reveal the wastage. It seems that of the children in the vernacular schools only about one-third complete the course, and of those entering the Dutch-vernacular schools only 45.5 per cent obtain a Primary Diploma, and not more than 14 per cent survive to the end of the Secondary course.[4] On the other hand, some 400,000 children in Koran schools[5] do not appear in the above statement, and there are a few thousand in the "wild" schools, with a nationalist bias and independent of the official system. Some of these have been doing useful work, notably the *Taman-siswo* schools, but many are poor imitations of the State schools. The emergence of these schools has led to a change in educational policy. Formerly European schools had to be registered, but native schools, then unimportant, were exempt. The growth of native education during the present century changed the position; and, when the "wild" schools sprang up, native schools were subjected to the same restrictions as European schools. This occasioned some controversy, and under new regulations of 1932 both Europeans and natives were allowed to teach on merely giving notice of their intention, though for teaching European pupils a diploma was required.

With the growth of education there has been a steady drift of school graduates to the large towns, where they can best profit from their attainments.[6] As the numbers of those who hold diplomas have increased, the values of the diplomas have fallen. Since 1900, about half of those with the Clerkship (K. A.) diploma have found employment under Government. In 1928 the number obtaining the diploma was 6,559, and the average number of vacancies annually was 447.[7] As elsewhere, the overproduction of school graduates has revived interest in technical instruction. At the beginning of the century there were no technical schools, and the few technical classes were a preserve for Europeans. The first technical school was established in 1901 and, with subsequent foundations, provided technical subordinates for the rapidly expanding European enterprise. The war of 1914-18 gave a new impetus to industrial development and caused a shortage of engineers from Europe, and in 1919 the Bandoeng Engineering College was founded by private capitalists. Natives were not excluded except by financial limitations and because their demand for technical instruction was slight; but technical instruction remained largely a preserve for Europeans.

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[4] *Résumé, op. cit.*, p. 32. However, conclusions based on 1930 figures are probably much less valid today.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 72. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[7] H.-I. Onderwijs-Commissie, *Eind-Rapport*, p. 45.

One aim of the ethical policy was to promote industrial development among the natives. Fock attacked the problem along three lines. He hoped to train natives for technical posts under Government, for employment in private industry, and for the creation of native industry. The first objective was not difficult, as the growing extension of State activities opened a field for employment, and the gradual improvement of academic education supplied men with the necessary basis for technical instruction. In all Departments now, the lower and middle grades are mainly recruited from local men with a specialized training of a primary or secondary standard. In private enterprise there has been an increasing demand for skilled labor and technical assistants. In 1910 three trade schools were opened, and the men readily found work. The war, and the relations between Capital and Labor after the war, enhanced the demand for men of this type. New schools were opened at other centers, and also branch schools with a shorter course. But until the depression of the 'thirties enforced rigid economy, only very subordinate positions were open to local men.

Fock's third aim was more ambitious. He hoped to train artisans who would raise the standard of native industry and develop new occupations. But there was no demand for such men in the native world before the introduction of motors and bicycles. Now many men trained in government shops set up as cycle smiths or in various branches of the motor business, and some men find work in the very few native industries. From about 1929 the Government made a serious attempt to develop native weaving, not merely as an interesting craft but as a modern business. They turned the nationalist movement for home products to good account and had considerable success in improving not only weaving but also the ancillary crafts of dyeing, and carpentry for the manufacture of looms. This came in useful when cheap goods from Japan threatened the cotton market, as not only Dutch cottons, but also native cottons were prejudiced. Further experience has shown that the simple hand loom can compete successfully with machinery. The manufacture of hats was encouraged in a similar way. It is still more remarkable that persistent efforts and many experiments seem to have had some success in attracting cultivators to agricultural schools. The secret of this seems to be a close study of agricultural economy, which has made it possible to adapt scientific principles to native practice, instead of trying to adapt native methods to scientific principles.

In higher education, vocational and cultural, progress has been much slower. The leaders of the ethical movement favored sending men to Europe, holding that higher studies could flourish only in a congenial environment.[8] That had never been the Dutch policy, and in 1900 there were only five native students in Europe. For a few years they were sent more freely, and by 1908 the number had risen to 23. Most of them looked for appointments in the higher branches of the government service; but there was some hesitation in admitting them, and the consequent discontent among the students, fanned by the growth of Nationalism, threatened dangerous political reactions. An experiment in sending some of the hereditary native officials was also thought unsuccessful, and the opinion made headway that it was better for Orientals to remain at home.

This implied the provision of facilities for higher studies in Netherlands India for those few with a sufficiently good general education. But the large European population and the high pitch of European enterprise had attracted European professional men who did not relish native competition; the lawyers resisted the opening of a Law School in 1909, and the Medical Association protested against a new Medical School in 1913. On the other hand, the shortage of engineers, caused by the war, induced European men of business to take an active part in promoting technical studies and, as mentioned above, to found an Engineering College in 1919. This was taken over by the Government in 1924; a Law College was founded in the same year, and a Medical College in 1926. All these colleges give a full course of the same standard as a university in Europe. The present war gave a new impetus to local industry; and by cutting off the Indies from Holland, made it desirable to provide industrial training in the East. Other colleges have therefore been added, and the whole complex has been grouped together as the University of Batavia. The following table shows the number of students enrolled.[9]

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[8] Schrieke, J. B. O., in Bradley, E., *The University Outside Europe* (1939), p. 267.

NUMBER OF COLLEGE STUDENTS, 1935-36

Faculty	*Europeans*		*Natives*		*Chinese*		*Total*	
	M.	*F.*	*M.*	*F.*	*M.*	*F.*	*M.*	*F.*
Engineering	66	3	49	1	31	..	146	4
Law	61	6	204	7	50	9	315	22
Medicine	88	16	243	12	159	16	490	44

The above table shows that women are beginning to seek a career in the professions. The pioneer of female education was Miss Kartini, the daughter of a high Javanese official, who looked on education, and especially the education of women, as an instrument for the advancement of her people. "Educate the women," she said, "and you will find sturdy cooperators in the splendid and gigantic task of civilizing millions." She found a friend in the Director of Education, a leader of the ethical movement, and about 1900 opened a school for the daughters of officials. By 1928 nearly 20 per cent of the native children in the primary and lower schools were girls, and in the missionary centers, Menado and the Moluccas, over a third. In schools teaching Dutch the proportion of girls rose during the same period from about 15 per cent to 30 per cent. The growth of female education among the Chinese is still more remarkable. In 1928, of the total number in all schools, 37.19

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

were girls, and in schools teaching Dutch the percentage had risen from about 11 per cent to 40 per cent.[10]

A notable educational invention is the People's Library. When rural education first started in 1907 the Dutch realized that it was of little use to teach people to read if they had no books, and that the first difficulty was to create the reading habit. Children taught to find a pleasure in reading might continue to read after they left school, and might borrow books even if they would not buy them. Libraries were therefore established in connection with the schools; children may borrow books without payment, but adults pay a small fee. At first all the books were in the vernacular, but later it was found that there was a demand for Dutch books also. By 1937 there were 2,528 vernacular libraries and 158 Dutch libraries lending out some three million books. The books are mostly publications of the Bureau—either indigenous stories rewritten or Western works adapted or translated, both fiction and non-fiction. Now the people are buying the books, which are sent around in vans, and some agents can sell books to the value of fl.1,000 a month. The remuneration of the author or compiler depends partly on the sales, and a technique for translation and adaptation has thus been worked out. The example has been followed on a modest scale in Malaya and Indo-China.

Indo-China

Nowhere in the Tropical Far East was the educational system so keenly criticized at the beginning of the century as in Indo-China. It was blamed both for what it had done and for what it had left undone; in Cochin-China it had sapped authority and broken down the social order; in Annam on the other hand it had taken no hold upon the people. By this time the generous ideal of inspiring the Annamese with French culture had lost much of its attraction. "It was not for its beauty that subject peoples learned the French language, but for its utility"; the study was not so profitable as they had expected, and the bitterest enemies of the French were among those who knew the language best.[11]

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[10] *Résumé*, p. 27.

[11] Harmand, *op. cit.*, pp. 265, 281.

87/ The new doctrine of efficiency was brought to Indo-China by Doumer (1897-1902), but he was preoccupied with administrative and economic problems, and did little for public instruction beyond suggesting principles and founding a trade school in each of the three capitals. It was his successor, Paul Beau, who laid the foundations of the modern educational system. Harmand, writing in 1910, summarized the current French doctrine.[12] Purely native schools should be encouraged, but the teaching of French confined to towns where it would be of practical use, and Western learning extended cautiously. Vocational training was desirable because the Government, planters, industrialists and merchants all wanted cheap assistants, and it would be hopeless to introduce machinery if there were no one to run it or effect simple repairs. But such instruction could be better given in workshops than in schools. Secondary and higher instruction should look to utility and form technicians rather than savants.

The instrument devised by Beau for reorganizing public instruction was the *Conseil de Perfectionnement de l'Enseignement Indigène*, created in 1906, which played a great part in the educational reforms of the next few years. The central idea of the new system was that natives should begin their education in the vernacular schools, and the more intelligent should pass on through French-vernacular primary schools to the secondary stage. At the bottom of the ladder was the Elementary or Village School in which Chinese characters were used, though *quoc-ngu* might also be taught. This led on to the Primary Vernacular School at the headquarters of the canton (township), in which both Chinese characters and *quoc-ngu* were compulsory, and French was optional. A few went on to the Complementary (or secondary) Vernacular School. Western science was added to the curriculum in deference to nationalist wishes, and normal schools were founded to provide teachers and to improve the standard of teaching.[13] The system was first introduced in Tonkin and Annam, and in 1909-10 was extended to Cochin-China. By 1913 there were 49,399

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 272 ff.

[13] Brenier, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

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pupils in the elementary stage, and 12,103 in the primary stage. But many remained outside. In Tonkin and Annam there was still a preference for private education, and in Cambodia and Laos there were only the monastic schools. In these the monks were encouraged to adopt modern textbooks, and in 1912 a public examination was introduced for pupils from monastic schools, with an Elementary Certificate for those who passed.[14] The plan was much like that proposed by Phayre in Burma. Like many other projects, not only in education, nor in Indo-China alone, it was introduced with enthusiasm, reported on favorably for a few years—and then forgotten.

The Elementary Certificate in the village schools also gave admission to the French-vernacular Primary Schools, which had been opened in Cochin-China since 1879 and in the other provinces between 1904 and 1906.[15] In these schools the medium of instruction was French, which pupils from the elementary school could not understand. A Preparatory Course was therefore introduced, laying special stress on French but using the vernacular as the medium of instruction. In 1913 there were 19,267 pupils in the Preparatory Schools and 17,628 in the Primary Schools. Pupils were expected to complete the primary course by the age of 14, when they became eligible for the secondary schools, where they worked alongside French students.

Meanwhile a course for French students had grown up to meet the needs of the European population. This comprised a Primary Course, with Lower and Upper Grades, and a Secondary Course, with only a Lower Grade—until 1912, when an Upper Grade was opened in one school, which acquired recognition as a Lycée. The total number of French students in 1913 was 1,193 of whom 172 were in the Lycée, together with 84 natives.[16]

The war gave a new stimulus to cultural assimilation and educational progress. In 1915 the competitive examinations for the mandarinate, in which the Chinese classics figure largely, were abolished in Tonkin, "and this was the death sentence for

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[14] Brenier, *loc. cit.*
[15] *Ibid., loc. cit.*
[16] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

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traditional culture."[17] On the other hand, Sarraut (1917-19) compiled a Code of Public Instruction, emphasizing the importance of French, and attempted to amalgamate the elementary and primary schools by taking over the village schools and introducing into them the teaching of French. He also gave new facilities for secondary and higher education. The post-war years saw a reaction against Liberal ideas, typified by Merlin (1923-25), with his "rather negative dread of higher education";[18] and even more sympathetic rulers like Varenne could not resist the current of opinion in favor of primary instruction rather than higher studies.[19] It has however been found necessary to abandon Sarraut's project of taking over primary instruction by the State; it was too costly, and it was also impracticable to provide instruction for everyone in French. In 1924 the division into vernacular and French-vernacular schools was restored; in the former the medium of instruction is the vernacular, with French as an optional subject. Progress was still slow, and in 1926 villages that could not be provided with State schools were allowed to open village schools at their own expense, but subject to official approval and supervision. In Cambodia the monastic schools were still functioning as village schools, and in 1924 a new attempt was made to incorporate them in the official system. Suitable textbooks were prepared, and monks were encouraged to volunteer for training. The experiment promised success, and in 1930 the King "signed a Royal Ordinance . . . to revive everywhere the Pagoda schools."[20] By 1936-37 over a thousand monks had been approved as teachers, and there were 813 pagoda schools with 34,462 boys and 121 girls.[21] (In Burma 928 recognized monastic schools with 79,135 pupils.)

In order to improve the teaching in these schools there are *"Formations de pénétration scolaire,"* which send itinerant teachers around to the pagoda and other village schools. In

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[17] Thompson, *loc. cit.*, p. 291.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 293.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 295

[20] Keesing, *Education in Pacific Countries*, pp. 78, 79.

[21] *Annuaire Statistique, 1936-37* (Hanoi, 1938). Other figures for that year are from the same source.

1936-37 there were 3,740 schools under this scheme, with 155,933 boys and 8,115 girls. The Elementary schools in the same year numbered 2,496, with 135,306 boys and 31,315 girls; and there were 59,399 boys and 16,541 girls in the elementary department of schools of higher standing. The course lasts three years and includes the three R's, some notions of local history and geography, and in some schools a little French.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS, 1936-37

Grade	*Native* Public	*Native* Private	*French* Public	*French* Private
Elementary	406,669	62,423(a)		
Primary				
Lower	55,025	22,986	4,759	2,078
Upper	4,611	5,422(b)	449	587
Secondary	41		1,485(c)	
University	612	..	..	..
Technical	1,889	..	..	..

(a) Includes Chinese schools but not Malay or Burman.
(b) Includes Chinese Lycée.
(c) Includes 675 Natives and Chinese.

In the Village and Pagoda schools the same course is followed so far as practicable, but the aim is to replace them with State Elementary schools. At the end of the course there is an examination for the Elementary Certificate; in 1936-37 only 47,293 were successful and of these 11,804 passed the test in French, and 5,621 in Chinese.

Successful candidates are eligible for the Primary School with two grades, Lower and Upper, lasting three and four years respectively. The Lower Grade schools (*écoles de plein exercice*) have elementary departments. The medium of instruction in the Primary Grade is French, but the aim is to give the oriental equivalent of a modern classical education. The curriculum is based on the local vernacular, French and a classical language, Chinese, Pali or Sanskrit, and it comprises the usual school subjects, including Elementary Science in the Lower Grade and Chemistry and Physics in the Upper Grade. The Lower Grade leads up to the Certificate of Franco-vernacular Primary studies, and is a qualification for some minor appointments, including that of Assistant Teacher, and also qualifies

87/for promotion to the Upper Primary course. This has two branches, one for general students and one for teachers, comprising agriculture, psychology and practical teaching. In 1936-37 there were eighteen Upper Primary schools. Successful candidates receive the Diplomas of Primary Franco-vernacular studies.

In the Primary Grade the education of French children is usually separate from that of natives, but follows along the same lines. In the Secondary Grade both follow the same course and largely in the same schools. In 1936-37 there were four native secondary schools, and of the three lycées two admitted natives. As the native candidates far exceed the vacancies in number, there is a stiff competitive examination for entrance. The course carries on the attempt made in the primary school to give a modern general education on the basis of oriental culture. It lasts three years, and the baccalaureate examination at the end qualifies the student for admission to a university in France as well as to that at Hanoi.

Alongside the public schools there are also private schools. Most of these follow the ordinary course; they comprise both lay and mission schools, with 36,010 pupils in lay schools, mostly Franco-vernacular, and 41,711 in mission schools, mostly vernacular. Missionary work had been hampered by anti-clericalism and was badly hit by the war of 1914-18; since then the annual arrivals have been reduced by two-thirds. The lay schools, about half Chinese and half Annamese, represent progressive Nationalism and aim at combining Western science with Eastern culture. There are also purely Chinese schools—with 13,110 pupils, including 156 in a lycée, and some small Burmese and Malay schools with about 500 pupils. The birth of Nationalism was contemporaneous with the reforms of Beau, and in its early stages found expression in associations for promoting Western learning and modernizing literature, and also, rather later, in a long succession of school strikes, beginning in 1909.[22] Before long Chinese textbooks began to spread dangerous thoughts even in public schools, and unsuitable works were banned. The Chinese and Annamese replied by opening private

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[22] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

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schools. These multiplied rapidly and, with the rise of Communism in post-war China, were regarded as centers of infection. In 1924 the Annamese schools were required to comply with "regulations for scholastic hygiene"[23]—moral, presumably, rather than physical. In 1930 the regulations were extended to Chinese, Malay and Burman schools. The curriculum in these schools is much the same as in the official schools.

The apex of the whole system is the University of Hanoi. This was founded by Beau in 1907 as a concession to the new spirit of Nationalism, and to give ambitious students a local alternative to Japan or Hongkong. But the growth of a more assertive Nationalism caused a reaction, and the university was closed in 1908 and not reopened until 1917, when Sarraut tried to kill Nationalism with kindness. It was reorganized in 1925, with schools of Law, Medicine, Fine Arts, Education, Commerce, Public Works, and Agriculture and Forestry; all but the first three, however, were closed in 1931 as a result of the depression. The course lasts from three to five years. In 1936-37 there were 359 students of Law, 202 of Medicine, and 51 of Fine Arts (painting and architecture); they include some fifty French. Some students go on to universities in France. Official policy has varied greatly, from encouragement to discouragement, according as the students have been regarded as hostages to French culture or as potential rebels, but not a few who have studied in France have achieved notable success.

Female education is backward. In 1913 there were no more than 3,230 girls at school, and in 1936-37, although the number had risen to 63,918 in public schools, 55,971 were in the elementary grade; in the pagoda schools the girls are much fewer than in the corresponding schools in Burma.

Vocational and technical education is also backward. The excessive number of lawyers has been described as "a menace to social equilibrium."[24] The Government has tried to maintain close relations with capitalist enterprise in the provision of "apprentices and qualified workers," and to preserve a strict correlation between the requirements of industry and the out-

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[23] *Teaching in French Indo-China*, p. 14.

[24] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

87/put of the schools; annually local officials report the number of openings available, and admissions into the schools are regulated accordingly.[25] According to a report of 1931 there were three technical schools giving instruction in the handling of iron, wood and electrical apparatus; these were linked up with the navy, marine, and military aviation respectively. "Electricity and mechanics applied to machines and motors (and above all repairs and driving of automobiles) have developed spontaneously and attract the largest number of students."[26] Another group comprised schools of applied art. In a third group there were two schools of apprenticeship and industrial planning. In 1936-37 there were 11 technical schools in all, a school for the blind, and 20 technical departments attached to primary schools; the total number of pupils was 1889, including 314 girls.

No account of French education would be complete without a tribute to the work done in oriental science, literature and art by the *Ecole de l'Extrême Orient*, Hanoi and the Buddhist School at Pnom Penh. As can be seen above, much has been done to promote Western art, and the present writer cannot forget the large number of Annamese in the audience at the Opera House in Saigon. The Dutch have encouraged painting and so, of recent years and on a smaller scale, have the British, but in the cultivation of artistic sensibility, the French unquestionably lead the way.

The Philippines

During the last half of the nineteenth century the conflict in the Philippines between clerical rule and Liberal ideas grew tenser. It came to a head in 1896 with the execution of Rizal, which was the signal for a general rebellion. By 1898 the insurgents were pressing on Manila, when war broke out between Spain and the United States. The war ended in December with the cession of the Philippines to America, and the Filipinos, who had welcomed the Americans as allies, found themselves

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[25] *Teaching in French Indo-China*, p. 12. Keesing, *Education in Pacific Countries*, p. 135; Ennis, T. E., *French Policy and Developments in Indo-China* (1936), p. 175.

[26] *Teaching in French Indo-China*, p. 13.

American subjects. Although organized resistance dragged on until the surrender of Aguinaldo in 1901, the forms of civil government were introduced in 1900, by a Philippine Comission with Judge W. H. Taft as its presiding officer. In the following year he was appointed Governor-General, and three Filipinos were nominated to the Commission. From the outset American rule was inspired by two ideas: the doctrine of efficiency in the interests of economic progress, and the principle of self-government by the introduction of American institutions. At the beginning of the American regime only 15 per cent of Philippine exports went to the United States, but of recent years 75 per cent of all the trade was with the United States;[27] thus there has been a radical transformation of the economic environment. With the growth of American business interests there has sometimes been a trend towards giving the first place to efficiency. But the claims to independence urged by the Filipinos found much sympathy among the large mass of Americans traditionally opposed to Imperialism, and also increasing support from sugar growers and dairy farmers in the United States, averse to the importation of Filipino products at privileged rates, and from labor leaders apprehensive of danger to American standards of living. Out of this conflict of ideas and interests was born the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, constituting the Commonwealth of the Philippines with a promise of complete independence in 1946.

The Spaniards came to the Philippines doubly armed with swords and missals; the Americans came with rifles and school primers.[28] The army leaders held that no measure would so quickly promote the pacification of the islands as the introduction of the American school system. In each new stretch of country occupied, officers were detailed as school superintendents and private soldiers as teachers; altogether the military commanders opened about a thousand schools, for which the General selected and ordered textbooks. The civil government showed no less zeal and imported civilian teachers to replace the soldiers. By 1902 there were 926 American school teachers, but

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[27] Keesing, F. M., *The Philippines* (1937), p. 85.

[28] *Census, 1903,* III, p. 638.

87/since then the number has declined, and in 1939 out of nearly 40,000 teachers only 80 were Americans. The Government regarded English as the best instrument for inculcating the principles of modern progress, and the Filipinos recognized it as the best means of getting on in the world.[29] English was therefore adopted as the medium of instruction, and, indeed with a large crowd of teachers, ignorant alike of Spanish and the native languages, no other course was practicable.

The teachers were full of missionary zeal to implant the gospel of equality, democracy and love of country, and they succeeded the friars as the general guides and guardians of the people. "Almost without exception they joined the Filipino leaders in spreading the doctrine of Filipino nationality and patriotism";[30] portraits of the national heroes adorned the school-room walls, their lives were related in the textbooks, and the Filipino national anthem was sung daily in all the schools. Through all the phases of American policy the zeal for education has been unabated, and the primary function of the system has been "to facilitate progress along the road to democratic self-government."[31] The Filipinos are no less zealous than the Americans, and even the children take their schooling seriously. The table below gives some indication of the progress achieved.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION, 1903-1938[32]

Type of School	*Standard*	*No. of Pupils*	
		1903	*1938*
Primary			
Elementary....	1— 4	261,615	1,408,652
Intermediate...	5— 7		250,503
Secondary			
High School...	8—11	4,747	76,084
Collegiate.....	..	436	3,629
University.....	..		7,711
Private.......	..	89,567	129,591

Criticism follows much the same lines as elsewhere: the system is charged with being wasteful and unpractical, and some are uneasy at its secular character. Of more particular application to the Philippines are the complaints that more regard has been paid to quantity than to quality, that the system is excessively directed to political education, and that the use of a foreign language was a mistake. A somewhat unfavorable picture was given by an American Commission in 1925. Their report, known usually as the Monroe Survey, gives the average period of school attendance as less than three years; 82 per cent did not go beyond the 4th grade, took five years to do it, and even then were only on the same level as pupils after the 2nd standard in the United States. From recent figures it seems that 48 per cent survive to complete the 4th standard,[33] which compares favorably with results in countries with a much smaller proportion at school. The political bent, regarded as excessive, would seem to have been a chief factor in getting so many to school and keeping them at school, judged by the standards of the Tropical Far East, so long. But it does not seem to have been very effective in pressing home the idea of democracy; for what has emerged is a one-party government—democratic possibly, but not at all like that intended.

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[29] *Ibid.*, III, p. 647.

[30] Hayden, J. R., *The Philippines, a Study in National Development*, pp. 515-6.

[31] *Census, 1903*, III, p. 671; *Statesman's Yearbook, 1941*.

[32] Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

The advantages of English as a medium of instruction were debated until the foundation of the Commonwealth. The chief reason for adopting it in the first instance was practical; in no other language could education be rapidly pushed forward. It has helped to diffuse Western ideas among the people and has given larger numbers chances of employment. But it has never struck home; the pupils, parents and even the teachers seldom use English out of school. In school "both teachers and pupils function in an atmosphere of book-learning,"[34] and in the administration the use of English tends to divorce the officials from the people. As a second language it is likely to survive, but the Commonwealth Government has adopted for official use a modified form of Tagalog, one of the chief native dialects.

The secular character of the system of public instruction has not aroused appreciable opposition. Under Spanish rule the Liberals advocated secular instruction as part of the reaction

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[33] *Ibid.*, p. 472.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

87 against the clericalism of the Government, and some of the lay schools which they founded still survive. So far as secular instruction was distrusted, hostility was mitigated by the fact that both Americans and Filipinos professed Christianity. But there were some who still valued religion as a basis of education and preferred their old Church schools. These now provide for about 100,000 of the 130,000 pupils at private schools. The old University of St. Thomas has not only survived but has grown lustily; now it numbers 4,000 students and "combines with modern literary and professional training, classical scholarship and the cultural values inherent in that form of learning." Other institutions on the contrary reflect the values inherent in education regarded as an economic asset, and one difficulty has been to prevent them from exploiting the general eagerness for diplomas. Many were eliminated by the recognition only of diplomas awarded by approved schools, and in 1936 the regulations were tightened by prohibiting the opening of any school or college without permission.[35] Most of the reputable institutions follow much the same course as the public schools. The Elementary Grade comprises the Primary Schools with four standards and Intermediate Schools with three standards. Above these come the High Schools with four standards. Graduates from these may proceed either to Collegiate education, vocational in character, in Standards 12 to 14, or to the University with courses of four to six years according to the faculty.

We have seen that under Spanish rule female education had already made considerable progress, with practically as many schools for girls as for boys. American policy was definitely coeducational and encouraged girls to share the privileges of their brothers. One indication of their progress is the foundation of a women's university by a woman who took a prominent part in the struggle against Spain for independence.

Criticism of the system as unpractical hardly does justice to the persistent efforts to promote vocational instruction. From the first the American Government was zealous in the cause of industrial and, especially, agricultural training. A Bureau of Agriculture was established, which in 1910 was placed under the Education Department. Gardening was made part of the school course. In 1902 a trade school was opened in Manila to give instruction in carpentry, plumbing and telegraphy. The Nautical School, taken over from the Spanish Government, was given a more practical charcter, and commercial instruction was provided. Other trade schools were opened at minor centers, and all pupils were required to take a vocational course involving manual training.[36] So far was this carried that at one time the school system became one of the chief industrial enterprises in the country; but few of the boys found jobs on leaving school. It is still, however, a character of the system to combine practical and academic instruction. In Standard IV gardening is introduced; in the Intermediate Grade some schools are specialized as farm schools; in the High School Grade, in addition to the academic and general schools, there are others that specialize as normal schools, rural high schools or trade schools, and some teach domestic economy. After leaving school the student has a choice of training in normal, trade or nautical colleges, or may study a profession at the university. The State University of the Philippines, founded in 1908, had in 1938, 7,711 students with two branches outside Manila. In addition to academic instruction in the humanities it offers courses in law, medicine, pharmacy, veterinary science, education, commerce, music and the fine arts.

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[35] *Ibid.*, p. 555.

Despite the abundant provision for vocational instruction, this remains unpopular, and the academic course is overcrowded, though the value of its diplomas continually declines. In 1905 any boy from the 4th standard could get a job; in 1912 he had to reach the 7th standard, and in 1925 he required a high school diploma. The Monroe Survey criticized the vocational training as "not suited to the immediate needs of the country,"[37] and recommended every endeavor to attract boys to rural high schools. Another inquiry, in 1930, found that some courses still gave a training for which there was no demand, and that "only a small proportion of the students in the specialized courses in agriculture and the industrial arts later

[36] *Census, 1903.*

[37] Roosevelt, Nicholas, *The Philippines* (1927), p. 194.

entered the vocations for which they were trained."[38] In 1938, of 76,000 pupils in the high schools, only 9,000 were in the trade schools and 4,600 in the agricultural schools, and "it is a matter of common knowledge that a large proportion of the students attending them are there not because they wish to take the vocational work offered, but because the vocational schools are free and in some cases provide opportunities for self-support."[39] Only the prospect of starvation will drive them, discontented, back to the land.[40] The fact is that industrial education has "operated in a vacuum";[41] business is still largely in the hands of foreigners, and the only openings for Filipinos are in administration, the office and the law. The Philippines, it has been said, are overrun with lawyers.

In respect of foreign travel the Filipinos have had much greater advantages than the people in most tropical dependencies. From the early nineteenth century they were studying in Spain and other parts of Europe. When the United States first took over the islands one method of inculcating American ideas was to send a hundred boys from fifteen to twenty-one years old to school in California, with homes in "pleasant private families."[42] It is said that since then thousands have studied in America, and more than five thousand have gone elsewhere. In addition to these some ten thousand have gained a wider experience of the world in America and Hawaii.[43] The Filipinos also gained practical experience in administration not merely as subordinates but in responsible positions. Already in 1921 many were heads or acting heads of departments, and practically all the assistant chiefs were Filipinos.[44]

The recognition of the Commonwealth has given a great stimulus to education. Since then the school population has risen by over 600,000. Another recent feature of the national effort to raise the general standard of intelligence is a nation-wide organization for adult education.[45] The movement made little headway until taken in hand in 1932 by the Bureau of Education, which enlisted the support of the Y. W. C. A. and similar institutions. In 1936 an Office of Adult Education was constituted and by 1940 there were over six thousand adult schools manned by fifty thousand volunteers, with half a million students enrolled in adult classes; and two and a half million educational publications were distributed. The enthusiasm to which these impressive figures bear witness may subside, but hardly without leaving some permanent impression on the people. But until quite recently the country was ill provided with books and other reading matter. The total circulation of the daily papers was only 200,000,[46] and the only public library was in Manila; even the University had no adequate library. The Filipinos were not a reading people. Now the Manila Library has branches in all the chief towns. The new enthusiasm for adult education is closely associated with the prospect of early independence. From Spanish times education has been entangled in politics, and under American rule no educational problem could be considered without reference to its political bearing, "independence rather than education was at stake." In the University issues were clouded by personal rather than by national politics. But a friendly critic suggests that in the long run professional educationists may find greater difficulties in dealing with a popular electorate than they have found hitherto in their relations with the representatives of American authority.[47]

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[38] Hayden, *op. cit.*, pp. 520-21.

[39] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

[40] Keesing, *The Philippines*, p. 90.

[41] Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 523.

[42] *Census, 1903*, III, p. 669.

[43] Malcolm, G. H., *The Commonwealth of the Philippines* (1936), pp. 357, 376, 380, 381.

[44] Keesing, *The Philippines*, p. 97.

Formosa

From 1662 until 1895 Formosa was under Chinese rule. Chinese immigrants pushed back the aborigines and during the nineteenth century rapidly increased in numbers. But the administration was slack; and the immigrants, mostly of the lower classes, were in general illiterate. In the last half of the century missionaries opened schools, and after Formosa was constituted

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[45] Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 531.
[46] Malcolm, *op. cit.*, p. 333.
[47] Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 510.

871 a separate province in 1886 the Provincial Government began to take steps to educate the aborigines. But material development and education were alike backward when the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1894. When Formosa was ceded to Japan in the following year, the people, mainly of Chinese birth or origin, attempted armed resistance, proclaiming a Republic, but this was suppressed before the end of 1895. The country remained under military rule until the appointment of the first civil Governor-General in 1918.

The Japanese theory of colonial policy is that "the economic development of the country must come first. Education and the raising of the standards of the people will follow. Afterwards political development may be possible,"[48] but as an integral part of the Japanese Empire. The progress that has been achieved in both economic development and education is astonishing, but what chiefly strikes the observer is the zeal and pertinacity displayed in linking up the economic and cultural life of the country and people with those of Japan.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF FORMOSA, 1897-1937[49]

Population (000)					*Imports*		*Exports*	
Year	*Formosan*	*Japanese*	*Year*	*Expenditure (£000)*	*Total (£000)*	*Japanese*	*Total (£000)*	*To Japan*
1904 . . .	2,916	53	1897	1,049	1,276	210	1,266	372
1938 . . .	5,393	310	1937	15,644	32,212	24,114	44,016	35,363

Yen at rate of ¥10 = 1£.

The picture of economic progress given by the table above finds a companion in the progress of education. In the early days schools were opened to provide interpreters but met with violent resistance; teachers were murdered and schools burned down. The Japanese reopened the schools under military protection as language schools, where volunteers gave an intensive course in Japanese. Active resistance subsided, and in 1898 systematic public instruction was started with the opening of village schools, with Japanese as the chief subject and as the

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[48] Hayden, R., "Japan's New Policy in Korea and Formosa," *Foreign Affairs,* II, p. 474.

[49] Figures for 1897: Rutter, Owen, *Through Formosa* (1923), pp. 280, 282; for 1904: *Census, 1904,* cited, Wyndham, *op. cit.;* p. 150; for 1937-38: *Far Eastern Yearbook, 1941.*

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medium of instruction.[50] The Formosans "looked upon the education offered by the Japanese with suspicion; they had no desire for their children to learn to read and write Japanese, and consequently refused to send them to school." But they "gradually came to see the advantages of securing a good education for their offspring, and of course other subjects besides Japanese were taught. In many of the schools not only was education free, but the students' living expenses were paid as well . . . schools were, to begin with, only established in areas where the consent of the inhabitants had been obtained. At the same time a large number of old-fashioned Chinese schools were allowed to continue."[51] By 1904 considerable progress had been made in overcoming Formosan antipathy, and there were 153 schools, with 23,178 pupils, of whom 2,655 were girls.[52] The Japanese victory over Russia enhanced Formosan respect for Japan, and the subsequent China renascence stimulated them to seek modern education in the only form available. Numerous associations sprang up to promote Formosan interests, economic, cultural and political, and, within limits, the treatment of such aspirations seems to have been not unsympathetic, though any one transgressing those rather narrow limits soon found that the Government knew how to discourage dangerous thoughts.[53] At the same time, a strong formative influence was exercised by the predominantly Japanese administrative and economic environment, and the system of public instruction was directed to reinforcing this environment by cultural training.

In all the schools, from the lowest standard, the medium of instruction is Japanese. As the Formosans do not speak Japanese at home, they cannot attend the same primary schools as Japanese children. In the Primary Grade there are two sections, each with three standards. The Lower Primary School, such as is found in most villages, concentrates on Japanese, and goes only to Standard III. In the Upper Primary School the curriculum includes elementary science and may include agricul-

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[50] Wyndham, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
[51] Rutter, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
[52] Wyndham, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
[53] Rutter, *op. cit.*, p. 150; Wyndham, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

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NUMBER OF SCHOLARS, 1939[54]

Class of School	No. of Pupils Japanese	Others
Kindergarten and Primary	49,028	569,308
Middle		
Boys	5,123	4,129
Girls	5,312	2,558
Vocational		
Two years	1,822	5,751
Full course	3,342	2,626
Normal	1,788	..
Higher		
Academic	192	91
Vocational	600	141
Private and Special	..	5,644

ture, commerce, and English; Chinese is optional. After the Primary course the native still requires two years' study before he is fit for the Middle Grade and even so is backward in comparison with the Japanese who has been using his own language. Thus Japanese children have an advantage in the examination qualifying for admission to the Middle School. The children are eligible for this school from the age of twelve. The ordinary course lasts five years for boys and four years in the corresponding school for girls, known as the Girls' High School. The curriculum includes physics, chemistry, law, economics, and English, French or German. In the girls' schools it is adapted to their special requirements. The figures given above indicate the notable progress of female education; doubtless Japanese example has had great influence in this matter. Some Middle Schools have a High School Department, with a course of three years in preparation for the University. The Imperial University was founded in 1929 and provides courses in literature, science, and politics; there are also vocational schools of university standing. The full course at the university takes seven years; but for students who have taken the preparatory course at school, four years is sufficient.

After completing the primary course students may go on to vocational or technical schools instead of going to the Middle School. One feature of the Japanese system is the high proportion of vocational students in comparison with those in the Middle School. Most of them take a short two years' course, with a wide choice of subjects and this is especially favored by the Formosans, who presumably find, that even with longer training, it is difficult to make headway where commerce and industry are dominated by the Japanese. The same explanation would account for the large number studying agriculture, but the figures under this head are of interest as suggesting that the Japanese have made some progress towards a solution of the difficult problem of relating agricultural instruction with practical agriculture. The comparatively small number of Formosans in the University and High Schools may be due partly to the Japanese policy of encouraging them to seek for higher education in Japan, but more probably reflects the Japanese predominance in the direction of industry and commerce.

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[54] *Far Eastern Yearbook, 1941.*

NUMBER OF STUDENTS RECEIVING VOCATIONAL INSTRUCTION[55]

	Students	
Grade and Kind	*Japanese*	*Others*
Middle School		
Short Course	1,822	5,751
Full course		
Agriculture	588	1,432
Industry	963	468
Commerce	1,791	726
Education	1,788	..
High School		
Agriculture	181	5
Industry	201	28
Commerce	238	26
Medicine	80	82

Private education plays an insignificant part in the system of instruction, and the missionaries, who were the pioneers of Western education in Formosa, suffered a grievous blow when the growth of public instruction enabled the Japanese to order the closure of the elementary department in missionary schools. In recent years practically the whole system worked towards strengthening the process of assimilation, for life in a society with a considerable Japanese element and wholly Japanese in its economic environment. The progress of education under

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[55] *Ibid.*

87/ Japanese rule is certainly a remarkable achievement, and one would like to know how it has been accomplished. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri.* But we have a picture of their system among the aborigines, and it is not one that people who still enjoy a democratic heritage are likely to adopt. Education is not compulsory, but the parents are encouraged to entrust their children to the Japanese. The teacher is a policeman, and the school is sometimes in the police station. When after five years the children are allowed to return home, they have been transformed from wild aborigines into civilized Japanese.[56] That is not education but "conditioning." How far gentle pressure has been carried to the same lengths among the Formosans is not clear. And whether the Japanese, even if they escaped disaster in the present war, will attain their goal of assimilating the Formosans may well be questioned. A sympathetic critic summarizes the results of twenty-five years of Japanese rule as "law and order, economic prosperity, elevated standards of living, widespread education and rising political discontent."[57]

Thailand

Chulalongkorn, though working to remould his land on modern lines, maintained the tradition of personal rule until 1895, when he created a Legislative Council, but this rarely met, and exercised no influence. In 1925, however, King Prajadhipok on his accession appointed a Supreme Council of State as an advisory body, and in 1927 formed a Committee of the Privy Council. But these bodies merely represented the hereditary aristocracy, and the Crown retained its full traditional and legal powers, while the actual administration was controlled by the various foreign departmental heads or advisers. As Siamese who had studied abroad grew in years and numbers, they became impatient alike of an autocratic tradition that they thought out of date, and of foreign control that seemed no longer necessary. In 1932 some of their leaders formed a People's Party and induced the king to accept a constitutional form of government. A Popular Assembly was convened, and this gave a small body of military leaders and progressive civilians, acting in the name of the People's Party, the opportunity to seize power. A royalist insurrection failed, and early in 1934 the king left for Sumatra on the plea of ill health. The party leaders remained in full control of the government, and in 1935 the king abdicated and was succeeded by a ten-year-old son, then at school in Switzerland; in fact, however, there is a one-party government under party leaders who allow no free political discussion. Under the monarchy, though the higher aristocracy were wealthy, the control of economic life rested with Europeans and Chinese. There was a strong Chinese community and, in the south, a large body of unassimilated Malays. One feature of the new government has been an attempt to promote the economic development of the people, especially in agriculture, and to bring the economic life of the country under national control.

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[56] Rutter, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

[57] Hayden, *loc. cit.* For another view see note, p. 112 below.

The progress of public instruction in Thailand has features of special interest. In subject countries attempts by the government to improve education have been suspect as inimical to national progress, and similar attempts by nationalists have been regarded as subversive. In Thailand there has been no such conflict. The educational system, as modernized by Chulalongkorn, survived with little change, though in 1921-22 all children from seven to fourteen years of age were required to attend school. (In 1935 the age limits were changed to eight to fifteen.) Of recent years, however, it has been replaced by a new system on Western lines.

The new system recognizes four classes of schools:

(a) Local, or Village, Schools, maintained by the government;
(b) Municipal Schools, in urban areas with public corporations;
(c) Government Schools, as models of progressive education;
(d) Private Schools, mostly missionary institutions.

So far as practicable the monastic schools were incorporated in the system as local schools, but in many villages they were supplemented by schools which, though housed in monastic buildings, followed the official curriculum under lay management. In 1934 out of 9,001 local schools, 6,519 were monastic precincts, though only 1,219 were monastic schools. The table

87/below shows the distribution of pupils at the various schools. Although the introduction of compulsory education was not immediately effective, in the course of ten years provision had been made for 90 per cent of the districts, and in 1937 there was said to be a school available everywhere for children of the primary grade.

NUMBER OF PUPILS IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF SCHOOL, 1939[58]

Class of School	*Number of Pupils*	
	Boys	*Girls*
Local	714,521	611,379
Municipal	30,410	28,182
Government	42,180	19,117
Private	78,037	43,928

Primary instruction comprises four standards (*pratome*). In 1934-35 there were 801,571 children in the two lowest standards, and 248,640 in the next two. The teachers are largely *pratome* graduates, employing the old-fashioned methods of instruction of the monastic schools. In the secondary course there are six standards (*matyome*), divided into a lower and upper section, each of three standards. In the upper section there is a choice of two courses, linguistic and scientific. The total number of secondary students in 1934-35 was 44,784. On completing the secondary course the student is eligible for admission to the Preparatory or Intermediate College at Bangkok. As appears from the above table, there are almost as many girls as boys at school. The system is not intentionally co-educational, but the country cannot afford separate schools for girls, and the parents do not want them to be separated in the primary grade. Boys and girls are usually separated in the secondary schools but meet again in the university.[59]

In theory the primary grade, and each section of the secondary grade, should end with two years' vocational instruction on an appropriate level. In 1934-35 however, only 5,058 were in the vocational grades. Some local schools offer carpentry, hat-making, agriculture and "hand-work." The Government schools comprise normal, agricultural and trade schools with a wide

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[58] *Statesman's Yearbook, 1941.*

[59] Landon, K. P., *Siam in Transition* (1939), p. 101.

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range of courses: building, carpentry, tailoring, printing, domestic science, and almost every other form of activity from secretarial to silver work. Private schools offer instruction in foreign languages, pedagogy and hand-work, and the press advertises numerous courses in commerce, dress-making, and so on. In 1934 a School for National Song and Music was established by the Department of Fine Arts.

Higher education dates back to 1880-81 when a cholera epidemic induced Chulalongkorn to start a movement for a modern hospital. Funds were collected and plans drawn up. Then in 1886 one Siriraja died. Tradition required an imposing cremation with elaborate booths. The king directed that these should be made of good timber, so as to be serviceable afterwards, and they were used to build the Siriraja Hospital. At first this taught both the Siamese and Western systems of medicine, with the natural result that the better system gradually replaced the old. The course was at first for three years and aimed at producing medical assistants, but it has been extended to six years, and the first M. B. was granted in 1931. Up to 1940 it had produced 142 graduates, and the total number of Western doctors was barely 500. In course of time other institutions were founded to train men for administration, law, public works and survey, the agricultural service and the army. There were also three schools, known as the Royal Pages' College, to train children of good birth for service at the Court and in the higher administration.[60] In 1917 the medical and administrative schools were amalgamated as the Chulalongkorn University. In 1937 the old Law School was remodeled as the University of Moral and Political Science, with a view to training "men

NUMBER OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, 1936-37

Arts and Science	473
Medicine	106
Nursing	166
Pharmacy	1
Engineering	94
Architecture	32

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[60] Graham, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

87/ capable of taking part in the conduct of affairs to whom the voters might grant their confidence."[61]

As already noticed, Thailand has been able to draw on all the countries of the modern world to gain administrative experience, and it has had the like good fortune in education. In 1934-35 there were 410 foreign teachers in private schools. Of these 74 came from the modern West including 30 Americans, 20 French, 11 English. The foreign Asiatics included 291 Chinese, 3 Japanese, and 31 Indians. Thailand has been fortunate also in its freedom of choice in sending students abroad. In 1937-38 there were said to be some 600, with 200 in Japan, 200 in the Philippines, 100 in England, 50 in France, 50 in America and 20 in Germany. Many of these were private students, but the State scholars numbered 12 in Japan, 11 in the Philippines, 32 in England, 10 in France, 11 in America, 2 in Germany and 1 each in India and Indo-China. The budget allotment under this head was B.482,000 (£44,000). Formerly State scholars were chosen by influence, but of late years they have been selected after a stiff competitive examination.

The modern system of public instruction is wholly secular, or rather, wholly nationalist. Inspectors, hankering after modern progress, report unfavorably on the monastic schools that still survive, and these are, it seems, gradually to be replaced by official schools. Even where the official schools are within monastic precincts, the monks take no part in the instruction and are no longer an important factor in the school. Many regret this departure from tradition, and there is a movement to found private schools on modern lines but with a religious background. In 1934 the Premier, when opening a normal school for monks, expressed the view that the Law of the Buddha is the best instrument of education, and to impart it no one is more worthy than the monk. In the private schools maintained by missionaries it seems that the Government imposes no restrictions on religious teaching.

Outside the schools various organizations promote social education. The Boy Scout movement was taken up as far back as 1911 by King Rama VI, who founded a Siamese branch under the title of the "Tiger Cubs Association," which has spread into every village. The Cub-leader is usually a school teacher, and most of the members are his pupils. The aim of the whole movement is to strengthen nationalist ideas and to foster a national spirit. There are about ninety thousand members. Another movement that has much the same impulse is the Junior Red Cross, started in 1922-23, with a view to training young people to become effective members of the adult Red Cross Society. It now has about a hundred thousand members.

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[61] *Siam Chronicle*, June 10, 1937, cited Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

The chief instrument of adult education is the correspondence department of the University. One feature of this is that the course ends with about fifteen days in residence, during which the students live in camp under quasi-military conditions, and combine lectures and sightseeing with physical and military exercises. One obstacle to the spread of a modern attitude to life has been the lack of books and the absence therefore of the habit of reading. Of late years there have been attempts to encourage translations into Siamese by men who have studied abroad, and "regular book stores have been opened in the larger centers with a good supply of books on law, medicine, agriculture, politics, foreign affairs and so on."[62] The only library on any considerable scale is that in Bangkok, though one or two provincial towns have made a beginning, and school libraries are not unknown. The Chinese seem to be taking a lead in this matter. "Every small village where Chinese congregate has its Chinese reading room. And every small town is visited periodically by the Chinese bookseller."[63] There are many Chinese newspapers, and novels, magazines and newspapers in Siamese are beginning to attract a considerable public.

Review

In our review of educational progress during the nineteenth century we noticed that, in general, public instruction in the various countries of the region derived from a common impulse, developed through approximately contemporaneous stages along much the same lines, encountered similar problems,

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[62] Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

87/and led generally to much the same results, which were very different from those anticipated. During the present century likewise all Governments adopted much the same policy, and the lines of progress have been roughly parallel; in some matters all have failed, but in others a varying measure of success has been attained. Before venturing on an explanation of the facts it may be well to summarize them.

The main objective was to diffuse primary instruction. The figures for the number of children now at school are certainly impressive; as one half or more leave school before attaining permanent literacy and even from the lowest standards they give too favorable a picture, but they will serve for a comparison between the various countries. From the tables on pages (pp. 111-112) it seems that generally most children are at school where the largest proportion of the revenue is spent on education; but it is uncertain whether more children go to school because more money is spent, or whether more money is spent because more children go to school. The first table does show however, that the Philippines, Formosa and Thailand stand out in a separate class.

In the *Philippines* nine-tenths of the children at school are in public schools. There is only one system of public instruction, and the medium throughout is English. The percentage of the population at school is 11.54.

In *Formosa* practically all the children at school are in public schools. The medium of instruction is Japanese, but there are two separate primary courses, one for the Japanese and one for natives. Promotion to the secondary grade is by a competitive examination in Japanese in which the natives are at a disadvantage. Even in order to be eligible for this examination the natives must study for two years longer than the Japanese. Despite these obstacles the proportion at school is 11.36 per cent.

In *Thailand* nine-tenths of the children at school are in public schools. There is only one system of instruction, and the teaching is mainly in the vernacular, with no language barrier against promotion to the highest class. Education was made compulsory in 1921-22, but for some years the rules were ineffective. Including private schools the proportion at school is 10.65 per cent.

Among the second group *Malaya* leads the way. There are two systems of instruction, one with English and the other with the vernacular as the medium of instruction. The Malay vernacular schools are public schools and others are largely private. There is a formidable language barrier between the vernacular and English schools; and, though a bridge has been set up to help Malays across the gap, comparatively few can do so. Compulsory instruction was introduced locally in the last century and has been gradually extended, but it has not been rigorously enforced, and compulsion is no longer necessary. The percentage at school is 7.76, but this figure excludes the more recently incorporated and backward Unfederated States.

Burma has three distinct systems of instruction: English, Anglo-vernacular and vernacular. In the first, English is the medium of instruction; in the second Burmese is used in the lower standards, and in the vernacular schools the local language. The great majority of the schools are maintained by local authorities, by private institutions, mainly religious, or by individuals, and the Government exercises control over them by grants. Anglo-vernacular schools are freely open to all who can afford the fees, and a few boys from the vernacular schools obtain bridge scholarships enabling them to pursue their studies in Anglo-vernacular schools. In the university, where the teaching is in English, and in public examinations conducted in English, boys from English schools naturally have an advantage. The percentage of the population in recognized institutions is 3.92, but the monastic schools are, on the whole, as good as many lay village schools in Burma or elsewhere and, including these, the percentage rises to 5.45. This figure however excludes the Shan States.

In *Netherlands India* there are three systems: Dutch, Dutch-vernacular, and vernacular. In the two former, instruction is in Dutch. Private institutions, mainly religious, play a useful part in Dutch and Dutch-vernacular education, the latter chiefly managed by local authorities under the control of Government. Language operates as a barrier against both Dutch-vernacular

871| and vernacular pupils; the former require a preparatory year before entering on the secondary grade, and vernacular pupils in the "link schools" require an extra year to reach the level of those in Dutch-vernacular schools. The unrecognized institutions are mainly Koran-schools, where mental discipline is far below that in Buddhist monastic schools; excluding these the percentage of the population at school is 3.35.

In *Indo-China* there are three systems of instruction: French, French-vernacular and vernacular; in the two former the medium of instruction is French. All natives must start in the vernacular schools and, unless they drop out on the way, end in a French school or in a French-vernacular school with an identical curriculum. The native takes seven years to reach the standard attained by French pupils in four years, and before admission to the secondary grade has to succeed in a competitive examination. French and French-vernacular instruction is partly managed, under State supervision, by private institutions, mostly religious, but vernacular schools are under the direct control of the State or local authority. Including private institutions the percentage of the population at school is 2.47.

Female education was another objective. The table below gives figures to the nearest thousand for the boys and girls at school, so far as this information is available. In the Philippines and Formosa the figures seem to be in much the same proportion as in Thailand. In Malaya the former prejudice against female education has been so largely overcome that now it is difficult to provide accommodation for the girls, but this dates only from about 1928. In 1928 a fifth of the native children in the primary and lower schools in Netherlands India were girls, but the proportion has probably risen since then. Co-education

NUMBER OF CHILDREN AT SCHOOL BY SEXES

	In Thousands	
	Boys	*Girls*
Burma	498	218
Malaya	193	76
Indo-China	511	56
Thailand	866	702

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is a matter of policy only in the Philippines, but elsewhere it is general for children below twelve and in the universities.

In respect of higher academic instruction the Philippines are far ahead. But here it has been encouraged, whereas elsewhere more regard has been had to restricting the surplus of educated unemployables. Despite this there has been a general increase in secondary and higher instruction, and universities have been founded everywhere except in Malaya. The high figure for secondary students in Formosa is largely due to the inclusion of 10,435 Japanese; elsewhere Burma, with 14,969 students, and Malaya, with 15,066, have the largest number in proportion to the population.

One great object of policy was to encourage scientific, vocational and technical instruction. This was also a leading feature of nationalist policy. Yet the results are disappointing. Two different methods have been applied. In the Philippines, and to some extent in Thailand and Malaya, there has been an attempt to combine vocational with general instruction; elsewhere vocational and technical instruction have been given in special schools or classes. Not much detailed information is available as to the progress made in teaching science; but few reach a stage where it can usefully be studied, and it has little practical value where scientific vocations are so backward. Despite numerous enquiries and experiments, technical instruction has made little progress, and only in Netherlands India has there been even moderate success in the attempts to teach agriculture to prospective cultivators.

There remains the last, but in some respects the most important item in educational policy as it took shape at the beginning of the century, the attempt to reinforce social order by giving a religious and ethical color to a secular system of instruction. As the inadequacy of moral textbooks and primers of personal ethics became more apparent, interest tended to shift from moral to physical training. The "white man's burden" became "an almost meaningless phrase"[64] except to scoffers, and in the Netherlands Indies the most ardent supporters of native progress were among the first to react against the

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[64] Buchan, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

87/ "ethical" policy.[65] A review of the latest Education Report for India notes the "complete absence of any reference to religion or religious education" and the single "depressing and colourless paragraph" devoted to "moral instruction."[66] Provision for religious instruction seems to have had little effect, and the problem of reconciling secular education with religion has proved even more difficult than that of reconciling religious institutions to secular instruction. Cleanliness comes next to godliness and is easier to inspect, but the teachers themselves do not practise the lessons they teach in hygiene and thrift. One feature of the present century has been the growing popularity of team games, and especially of football, and also of the Boy Scout movement. These have struck root among the people but, though good in themselves, the frequent reports of school strikes suggest that they have not been effectual in promoting discipline and a respect for authority. The main problem is still, as at the beginning of the century, "how to spiritualize" a secular system of instruction.

Lord Curzon ends his Resolution on educational policy with a characteristic specimen of his practiced eloquence. After pointing out all that had been done "to elevate the standard of education in India and inspire it with higher ideals," he goes on to invite the cooperation of Indians. "It rests," he said, "with the people themselves to make a wise use of the opportunities that are offered to them, and to realize that education in the true sense means something more than the acquisition of so much positive knowledge, something higher than the mere passing of examinations, that it aims at the progressive and orderly development of all the faculties of the mind, that it should form character and teach right conduct—that it is, in fact, a preparation for the business of life."[67] In this eloquent appeal he is thinking, like so many others, of what education might or should be. In fact, in the Tropical Far East, education, or rather instruction, is not a preparation for the business of life, but preparation for a life of business; and it does not rest with the people themselves to give it a wider content. The schools, the people and the governments are subject to the control of economic forces.

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[65] Boeke, J. H., *The Structure of Netherlands Indian Economy* (1942), p. 102.

[66] Mayhew, A., *Overseas Education, 1941*, p. 75.

[67] *Progress of Education in India, 1897-1902*, p. 475.

POPULATION AND SCHOOL ENROLMENT

	Burma	Neth. India	Formosa	Indo-China	Malaya	Philippines	Thailand
Year	*1936-37*	*1938*	*1938*	*1936-37*	*1938*	*1938*	*1939*
Population, millions....	13.10	68.41	5.75	23.00	3.46	16.25	14.90
Private or unrecognized..	201,307	450,000	12,088	93,649	60,265	129,591	121,965
Primary							
Elementary and							
Lower, 1–4..	*458,148*			*466,453*		*1,408,652*	
Upper, 5–7..	*40,700*			*5,160*		*250,503*	
Total....	498,848	2,269,761	611,559	471,613	189,631	1,659,144	1,442,780
Secondary							
Lower, 8–10.	*13,734*				*14,679*	*76,984*	
Upper......	*1,235*				*387*	*3,629*	
Total....	14,969	20,558	17,093	1,890	15,966	79,713	(a)
Higher							
Academic...	509	(b)	282	612	(b)	7,711	872
Total Recognized schools only.......	514,326	2,299,319	641,022	474,145	208,279	1,746,568	1,443,652
Including Private, etc..	715,633	2,740,319	653,110	567,641	268,544	1,876,159	1,568,617
Per cent of population							
Recognized schools.....	3.92	3.35	11.16	2.06	6.02	10.75	9.69
All schools..	5.45	4.01	11.36	2.47	7.76	11.54	10.65
Vocational							
Technical...	2,067	33,085	13,311	2,630	3,093	13,311	(c)
Higher.....	421	1,101	2,629	366	759	2,629	(c)

Sources. Burma: *Report on Public Instruction, 1932-37.* (Figures exclude Shan States): Netherlands India: *Indisch Verslag,* Pt. II, 1938; Formosa: Yearbook of Far East, 1941; Indo-China: *Annuaire Statistique, 1936-37;* Malaya: *Malayan Yearbook and Education Report, 1938* (Figures exclude Unfederated States). Philippines and Thailand: Population, *Statistical Yearbook, League of Nations, 1940*: Education figures from *Statesman's Yearbook, 1941.*

(a) Included under Primary. (b) Included under Higher Vocational (c) Included under General.

Notes. In Netherlands India the private schools are mostly Koran schools; in Burma the monastic schools and elsewhere private schools in general are on much the same level as public schools. For comparison the "recognized school" figures should be taken for Netherlands India and "all school" figures elsewhere. Higher professional training is classed sometimes on Academic, sometimes on Vocational.

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COMPARATIVE SURVEY, EDUCATION AND FINANCE

	Burma	Neth. India	Formosa	Indo-China	Malaya	Philippines	Thailand
Year	*1938-39*	*1938*	*1937-38*	*1936-37*	*1937*	*1938*	*1939-40*
Population (mil.)...	15.96	68.40	5.50	23.50	5.29	16.25	14.90
Imports (£mil.)....	15.57	56.89	32.21	11.62	82.18	31.32	17.70
Exports (£mil.)....	36.39	81.60	44.02	20.48	106.47	34.59	19.66
Expenditure (£mil.)	11.54	74.15	15.64	12.10	17.98	16.40	11.28
Percentage spent on Education.......	6	6	11	12	5	20	11

Local currencies converted at rate of £1.00=Rs. 13.3; Fl. 8.75; ¥.10.00; Piastre 8.35; Singapore dollar, 8.50; Peso 8.50; Baht, 11.00.

Figures for percentage of expenditure on education from *Annuaire Statistique* for Indo-China, *Statesman's Yearbook* for Thailand, and for Netherlands India, Formosa, Malaya and Philippines from *Government and Nationalism in Southeast Asia,* pp. 67, 84, 90, 105, 116.

Populations as at December 31, 1938 from *Statistical Yearbook of the League of Nations, 1940.*

Other figures based on *Statesman's Yearbook, 1941.*

Supplementary Note

Up-to-date information on education in Formosa is not easily obtainable in Western languages and most Western writers have not been able to make any very critical analysis of the Japanese-language reports and statistics on education. A recent exception to this statement is Mr. Andrew J. Grajdanzev whose book *Formosa Today* (Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1942) contains a section on education based on the Japanese sources. Because his information is more detailed and because his conclusions are more critical than those of the sources cited above (pp. 95-100), some of his paragraphs are here reproduced in an Appendix below (pp. 175-179). *Editor.*

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CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL SUPPLY AND DEMANDS

We set forth on this inquiry into the progress of education in the Tropical Far East in the hope that it might furnish suggestions as to the function of education in tropical countries that have been brought into economic contact with the modern world. We remarked that, despite widely different views as to the aims of education, most people look on it as a most potent influence in moulding society, and have high ideals as to what education should or might do, but at the same time are perplexed and uncertain as to the efficacy of existing systems and as to the right lines for future development. Our inquiry serves to explain the perplexity, for everywhere we have found a wide divergence between intentions and results, and sometimes results quite contrary to those intended. During the Liberal period humanitarians were disappointed in their hopes, and the nineteenth century ended with a general restatement of educational policy. Yet the new policy has been little more successful than the old. One new factor, the nationalist movement, has emerged, but the nationalist educational program has had much in common with official policy, yet neither governments nor nationalists nor both together have managed to get what they wanted. They have wanted more and better schools of various types for various purposes. They have advocated or experimented in compulsory primary instruction; but, under any form of rule congenial to Western democratic traditions, compulsion is of no avail except against a recalcitrant minority. They have founded schools and classes for technical instruction, but the facilities provided have been neglected or abused. The one condition for the success of an educational policy is not what government or a nationalist party may want, and not merely what the community in general may vaguely want, but what people want, or can be made to want, so urgently that they will pay for it either individually or as a community to the extent at least of going to school or sending their children to school. The crucial factor in matters of education is the economic demand for schooling or instruction. Let us look at educational policy from the standpoint of demand.

Where progress in primary instruction has been slow, the general complaint is that the people do not want it. In all these countries the parents have long sent their boys to the village school, Koran, Monastic or Confucian, to learn the way of life and be equipped as members of society, but they do not want to send them to the modern public school. Why should they? Certain grounds on which primary instruction has been advocated may immediately be ruled out as irrelevant. It is suggested that an instructed population will be more docile and contented, that schools are cheaper than machine guns, or, in the words of Lord Curzon, that there is no greater danger to the State than an ignorant people. That may or may not be true. Of the political exiles from Java nearly three quarters had been to school; in Burma most of the rebels of 1931 were literate, and the district with the best record for education holds also the worst record for crime; in Cochin-China the curves of crime and Western education rise concurrently.[1] So far as it is true that education makes subjects easier to govern, there is reason for teaching them but none for them to learn. Nor will parents send children to school to make them work harder, more continuously and with a keener sense of the sanctity of contract. Again, it is argued that a literate people will be better able to cooperate in the benevolent plans of Government for its welfare, will be more ready to welcome model latrines and sanitary slaughter-houses. But that argument will not appeal to parents ignorant and careless of modern hygiene; until they have been educated in its principles, they will not send children to school to learn them.

On material grounds there is only one argument to which parents will respond. They soon learn that a child profits by learning the language of the ruling power, and stint themselves and borrow money to give their children this advantage; and 87/ they will be just as ready to send their children to the village school if this will give them a better start in life. It is often suggested that the school will help cultivators to make more money, or to escape the clutches of the moneylender. But is this true? Townsfolk in Burma need more arithmetic than is taught in monastic schools, and in the towns and larger villages both boys and girls are sent to school, and nearly as many girls as boys. In the recognized primary schools (Standards I-IV) there are 201 thousand girls to 257 thousand boys; but the public school hardly touches the rural area, and in three quarters of the villages the only school is in the monastery. Attempts to provide public schools for rural areas show that there is little demand for them. The cultivator takes readily to new crops and new methods as soon as he learns by example and experience that they are profitable, but the boy who is taught agriculture in school looks for a job in town. The man who knows how to write no longer makes his mark on the moneylender's promissory note; but he is just as ready to sign his name. The Burman is conspicuous for literacy but equally conspicuous for debt, and the most literate districts are the most heavily indebted. One will not easily induce parents to send their children to the public school on the grounds of material advantage, for the benefit of universal primary instruction is social rather than individual.

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[1] Keesing, *Education in Pacific Countries*, p. 70; *Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1927-32.*

But the people soon learn that knowledge of a European language may be profitable, and do their utmost to send their children to a school where they may learn it. Even a smattering of the language confers social prestige. The supply of school graduates overtakes the demand, and there accrues a surplus of educated unemployables. But that is no deterrent; it is on the contrary a stimulus to further effort. When boys can no longer get jobs from the IVth standard, they work on to the VIIth standard, so as to have a better chance, and so on upwards to matriculation and university degrees. They do not want learning but diplomas, but with every raising of the standard, diplomas lose their value and larger numbers of students are thrown on to the scrap heap. The diplomas are subject to the law of diminishing returns which, translated into human values, is the law of increasing discontent; but so long as education, or rather instruction, is dominated by economic forces, boys will press on to higher and still higher standards in the hope of finding jobs; if the worst comes to the worst, they can become lawyers.

But why lawyers, rather than doctors or engineers? Which do the tropics need most, lawyers or doctors? Doctors. Which profession, medicine or the law, does the State most encourage? Medicine. And what do we find? Too many lawyers and too few doctors. The Philippines are overrun with lawyers; in Indo-China the annual output of lawyers is "a menace to social equilibrium"; under British rule the plague of lawyers is a general complaint; under Dutch rule, for special reasons, lawyers have been less numerous but now seem to be increasing. Everywhere on the other hand there is a shortage of doctors. In Burma for a population of thirteen million in 1921 there were little more than a thousand modern doctors, and these were in government service or in towns where Europeans congregate. In Siam, with fourteen million people, there are barely five hundred doctors, and, outside the capital, practically all are in government employ.[2] Why are there so many lawyers? One explanation is obvious and seems sufficient. All classes of the community, European, foreign, Asiatics and natives, must bring their causes before Western courts and need the help of Western lawyers. There is a demand for Western lawyers, and the supply tends to exceed the demand, lowering standards of legal practice, until it becomes synonymous with sharp practice. Matters are different with medicine. Everywhere the people prefer their native healers. "Burmans don't care for English medicine"; a few years back the foremost Burmese official expressed his content with Burmese midwifery. In Java, though native medical training goes back nearly a century, people are still doubtful of European methods. In Siam "the old style doctor was still in 1939 the one to whom the masses of the people in the country ordinarily turned in time of sickness."[3] The native does not want the Western practitioner and cannot afford the fees that the cost of Western medical training makes it necessary to charge. The European on the other hand prefers a doctor of his own race. Thus, outside government service there is practically no demand for native doctors qualified in Western medicine. The East needs doctors, but there is a demand for lawyers, and lawyers are many and doctors few.

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[2] *Report on the Indigenous System of Medicine, (1931)*, p. 21; Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

[3] *Report on the Indigenous System of Medicine*, p. 22; Leeuw, H. De, *Crossroads of the Java Seas* (1931), p. 109; Landon, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

Similarly there is a very limited demand for engineers and other technicians. In the construction of village buildings, roads, bridges, irrigation works and so on, Western methods are no more demonstrably successful or economic than they are in native agriculture. With the exceptions, already noticed, of bicycles and the petrol engine, the demand for technicians hardly extends beyond the Western element in the community. Western enterprise has preferred to recruit its superior staff from Europe, so that local men had had no prospects of high advancement. Even subordinate positions have often been difficult of access to natives. In Malaya attempts to encourage agricultural instruction among Malays have been hindered by the preference of planters for Chinese assistants. Carpenters from the technical schools have been unable to get work because Chinese master carpenters would employ only members of the hereditary guild. In Burma Indians enjoy the doubtful advantage of a lower standard of living. Everywhere technical instruction for natives comes up against barriers raised by established interests and economic forces. The native cannot expect technical or vocational instruction to be remunerative in comparsion with the prospects open to him in other lines and, naturally, does not join a technical school unless he can be tempted by free tuition or a stipend to attend the school for its incidental advantages and without meaning to exercise the special skill it teaches. There is no economic demand for technical instruction.

It seems then that all educational effort in the tropics is conditioned by the economic environment; the Western school in the tropics does not teach children how to live, but how to make a living. And the environment reacts, not on the Western school only, but on the native Eastern school. The Eastern schools lose much of their educational and social value through the drainage of their wealthier and brighter pupils to the Western schools, but that is not the only nor the most serious damage they sustain. Their end has been, not to teach the children how to make a living, but to teach them how to live. Now the mediaeval world in which they taught them how to live has vanished and the schools lose their meaning and decay. It is no wonder that in Burma the yellow robe is coming to be a symbol of hostility to the Western world and Western values.

Not a few advocates of Western education, perplexed and uncertain at the frustration of their efforts and reversal of their values, will sympathize with the protest of the Buddhist monk. When undertaking this inquiry we noted a tendency to identify education with instruction, and remarked that this suggested a disregard of the difference in environment between East and West. That suggestion our inquiry seems to confirm. Modern education in the West has three features: it is commonly identified with instruction; it is dissociated from any form of religion except Nationalism; and it teaches the means of living and not the way of life. But these distinctive features are recent developments, superficial, and the school functions in an atmosphere of old tradition, inherited values and a common social life. We can transplant the school and system of instruction to the East, but not the atmosphere in which it functions. In the modern tropics economic forces have free play. They are not as a rule counteracted effectively even by Nationalism, for Nationalism in the plural society of the modern tropics is a misnomer for sectionalism, and there is no common social will by which economic forces may be restrained. Education has not produced this environment, but it has taken color from the environment, and instruction is sought merely as a means of individual material advantage. It is a preparation for the life of business; how can we convert it into a preparation for the business of life? How can we liberate the school from economic bondage, so that it may once again teach children how to live?

This has been done in the past. The early Europeans, and especially the Spaniards, got the children into schools which made no attempt to promote material welfare; but they did this by giving them a Christian environment. The Moslems did the same thing by surrounding the school with an atmosphere of Islam. We see the same thing happening at the present day with Christian missionaries and their converts; the children of the converts go to school not to learn how to make money but to be confirmed in their new faith, and it is among native Christians that we find the largest proportion of children at school and the largest proportion of female literates. Even the highly educated Karen Christian woman, we are told, goes back to her home, while the Burmese women with a higher education wants a job. If we look rather more closely at the progress of primary instruction we can see the same thing happening on a larger scale.

Leaving aside Formosa, the two countries which show the greatest progress in primary instruction are the Philippines and Thailand. In both there have been specially favorable circumstances, and in both the adoption of a single system of instruction has opened a career to talent. But in both countries the chief impulse to the progress of primary instruction has been the nationalist drive behind it. In the other countries foreign governments have inevitably been critical of nationalist enthusiasm, and nationalist leaders have had less zeal for primary instruction then for higher education, which, as they hope, will equip them for handling national affairs. In these countries primary instruction has made less progress, but a comparison between them is suggestive. Malaya presents features of special interest. There was no tradition of literacy or education; secular education was distrusted, and the women of all races were "absolutely ignorant, prejudiced and superstitious." Except for those few who could cross the barrier into the English school, vernacular education led nowhere and offered no material reward. Yet, within little more than a generation, we find boys and girls elbowing their way into the schools. How, under a foreign government, can we explain this miracle? Compulsion has been gradually extended, but seems to have had little effect until it was no longer necessary. One, possibly the determinant, factor has been the new Chinese enthusiasm for learning that has been a high note of Chinese Nationalism. This has given an example and a stimulus. But it has been turned to good account by a happy co-operation between British and Malay authorities. The Chinese in Malaya are conspicuous not only for their zeal for learning but also for their success in industry and commerce, and the Malays have been stirred up to emulation. The British Government has always taken up the position that it has a special duty to the Malays and, with the growth of the Chinese in numbers and economic power, has become more actively solicitous for Malay interest. Educational propaganda among a backward and suspicious people is a task for the administrator with a knowledge of the people rather than for the expert in educational technique, and one reason for the progress in Malaya may be the appointment of a civil servant rather than an education official as Director of Public Instruction; moreover for some years the head of the department was outstanding in his knowledge of Malay life, language and literature. He was able to impress on Malays the need for education if they were not to be driven further into the background by Chinese and Indians. Again, on the Malay side, he was not confronted with a crowd of unorganized individuals. When Phayre tried to improve monastic education in Burma he had to deal separately with each school, as there was no centre of clerical authority. But in Malaya there were the Sultans, men able to appreciate the Director's arguments; one is a barrister, and all know English. At the same time, under a system nominally at least, of indirect rule, they could use their influence to induce people to send their children to school, not with a view to their individual advantage but for the welfare of the Malay people as a whole.

Netherlands India suggests much the same reflections as Malaya. Here also there was a language bar, and the great mass of the people could hope for little profit from the vernacular school. It was not until 1907 that, under the "ethical" impulse, the Government tried to spread primary instruction widely; and, considering that it was forty years behind the British Government in Malaya, the progress has been little less remarkable even if the present figures for attendance are less striking. And it has been achieved by similar means. The Head of the Education Department was given the assistance of an Adviser and Assistant Adviser from the European Civil Service for the promotion of rural education, and native officers with hereditary influence have used "gentle pressure" to encourage the people to support the schools. One important function of officers in the lower ranks of the Native Civil Service is to act as school-attendance inspectors.

In Burma no such machinery has been available, and the care of education has rested primarily with departmental officers, largely concerned with the numerous and urgent problems connected with the rapid growth of Anglo-vernacular education. Thus, in comparison with other countries, primary instruction has made less progress and it is the unrecognized monastic school which has enabled Burma to retain a leading place in the record of literacy. In Indo-China the language barrier is more formidable than in Burma, and education is in general less attractive because the higher posts are much less freely open to natives than under British rule. The French, moreover, possibly through their tradition of assimilation, seem less sympathetic than the British to nationalist aspirations. If economic advantage and nationalist sentiment are the two main factors in the spread of primary instruction, it is not strange that Indo-China should occupy the lowest place.

Yet the progress in Formosa warns us against too readily accepting any simple formula for encouraging primary instruction. Here there is a single system of instruction, and the child entering the lowest standard has no further language barrier to cross because, as in the Philippines, he must struggle across it at the beginning. But the prospects of material advancement are remote, and the Japanese system is based on the suppression of nationalism. Yet Formosa stands among the highest in the proportion of the people at school. Presumably the example set by the large Japanese contingent in sending all their children to school provokes emulation among their subjects. The strongly Japanese character of the economic environment may be another factor in furthering the study of Japanese. It seems, too, that the Formosans were so taken with the Chinese zest for learning that they welcomed it even through the medium of Japanese. And the Japanese method of "conditioning" the

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aborigines suggests that they carry "gentle pressure" to its extreme limits. One would certainly like to know more about education in Formosa, but the progress made there does not necessarily invalidate the conclusion suggested from experience elsewhere that, where the economic motive is inadequate, the cultivation of national sentiments and aspirations is the best method of getting the children into school. In general the great obstacle to primary instruction is that illiterate parents do not want their children taught to read and write. They want them brought up in their religion, and to be taught their letters so far as this is incidental to their religious training. But secular instruction will bring the children no material advantage, and they can appreciate no other reason for sending them to school. Before we can instruct the children, we must educate the parents, and nationalist propaganda is one way, and apparently the only way of educating them.

Nationalism, like other religions, takes education out of the sphere of economics and supplies a motive that is superior to economic considerations; but although it transcends economic laws it cannot dodge them. It may induce parents to send their children to school where they can learn to read and write, but it will not automatically create a reading habit. For that it is necessary to provide books. This may seem a simple matter, but it raises difficulties, both technical and economic, that deserve examination. All these countries have their literature, but they have no books. In England, in living contact with the modern world and in the center of world affairs, upwards of 15,000 books are published every year. But in Burma, dependent almost entirely upon books for contact with the cultural aspects of the modern world, barely a hundred books a year are published, and most of these belong, not to the modern but to the mediaeval world. Of the comparatively small number of people who read English only a few have access to the one public library in Rangoon, and that is very inadequate to the requirements of a modern capital. Even in Rangoon it has not yet been found possible to establish permanently a modern bookshop. Nor are the people better off for newspapers. In 1930 the total circulation of Burmese daily papers was less than 10,000.[4] Elsewhere conditions are generally similar. It seems that in the Philippines quite recently the total circulation of daily papers in all languages for a mixed population of fifteen millions was only about 200,000. If people have no books they will lapse into illiteracy, and the money spent on providing them with schools will have been wasted. The older literature is largely religious, poetical, conventional and hardly intelligible to the ordinary man. If the people are to read they must be given books that they *can* read, and the written language must be modernized, as was found necessary in China. That is a difficult and, except under a national government, a delicate task. But that is not the chief difficulty. It may seem easy to put, say, into Burmese a popular handbook to modern science, such as sell by the hundred thousand in Europe. These, however, are written for a more or less sophisticated public. Huxley wrote popular works for an unscientific generation. But the science in his books is out of date and the modern handbook assumes that the general reader has assimilated Huxley's teaching. A popular handbook for Burmans at the present day must explain modern science to readers whose science is that of ancient Grece. Even a Huxley could hardly manage that. Again, it has been said that those who know Burmese know nothing else, and that those who know anything else know no Burmese. The graduate in science can write English but he is a poor hand at writing his own language intelligibly. Apart from these and other technical difficulties there are economic difficulties in selling books at a price that the people can afford and that will yet remunerate writers and publishers. In Burma it was held that there was no demand for translations as there was no reading public for such matter,[5] but in Netherlands India there has been an attempt, largely successful, to organize a demand for books both vernacular and in Dutch. Make the people want to read, and they will want to learn to read and will pay for schools where reading may be learned, as part of their education for life in an adult society which has acquired the reading habit. But to build schools and

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[4] *Indian Statutory Commission, 1930,* XI, p. 272.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 296.

871 pay teachers to instruct children in reading for which they will have no use on leaving school is waste of money. Here again it is the environment that makes the school, and the instruction has no meaning apart from the environment.

Similar considerations apply to all welfare projects. Local authorities may frame rules that meat stalls shall be protected by fly-proof doors and windows and can provide suitable stalls in public markets. But butchers prefer to keep the windows open to see what they are buying, and no army of inspectors will be large enough to enforce the regulations until the people have been educated to want clean meat. Model latrines can be provided, but it is impossible to keep them clean until the people have been educated to use them properly. But you will not educate them in these matters by making the children learn "hygiene" in school from teachers who neither believe in it nor practice it. Get the people to want these things, and the new environment will change the schools, and the lessons in hygiene will be useful. But the first essential is the education of the parents.

In the light of these considerations let us look once more at the problem of technical instruction. The view now generally accepted offers no solution. The demand is limited, so runs the argument, over-production will be a waste of money and, still worse, of men; therefore we must limit the supply in accordance with the demand. We must accept the environment; it is *kismet, dhamma*. But that is the argument of the dodo and the dinosaur and of the beasts that perish. And it is unsound. Take for example the report of the Malayan Committee of 1926 that there was no opening for a training in mechanics. At that very time the petrol engine was creating a demand for mechanics in the native world. In Netherlands India the sea fisherman learned by example and experience that new methods were profitable, and began to demand instruction. Instead of limiting supply there is the alternative of organizing the demand, and that is the solution that is being attempted by the nationalist governments in the Philippines and in Siam. In order to work out a solution of the problem of technical instruction along those lines it is necessary to educate, not the people, but those responsible for policy and for directing Western enterprise.

The principle of Nationalism would seem then a means of liberating education from its economic bondage. For all its limitations as compared with world religions, it does not, like those, appeal solely to those of the same religious faith. If the Scotsman says that he drinks whiskey rather than water because it is his national beverage we may not believe him, but we politely accept his statement as an explanation. In the expanding circle of human relationships the nation, like the family, seems to have its natural place in a world wide civilization, and among most people of the modern democratic West, Nationalism, although they may be keenly sensible of its dangers, will strike a responsive chord.

It is notorious that Nationalism has its dangers; in an acute form it may be regarded as a disease, a fever of the body politic, striving to throw off some foreign matter that endangers its constitution. It may rise superior to economic motives and drive out the money changers and the hosts of Mammon, but it will pass its children through the fire to Moloch, and thrives on hatred rather than on charity. And it is true that it has often exercised an unfortunate influence on education; in the Philippines under American rule it hindered educational reform: "independence rather than education was at stake." In a tropical dependency a Government, aiming first to preserve the imperial connection and seeming at least to be closely linked with capitalist interests, cannot easily come to terms with a movement directed to make the people capable of independence. Moreover, in the Tropical Far East the working of economic forces has brought into existence a plural society. In every country a medley of Europeans, Indians and Chinese constitute foreign enclaves, and nationalism tends to degenerate into sectionalism. This has been abundantly illustrated in clashes between Annamese and Chinese, Siamese and Chinese, Burmans and both Indians and Chinese; and in Java the popular nationalist movement arose out of a demonstration against the Chinese. Yet we have seen in Malaya that national or racial sentiment can be turned to good account by provoking the Malays to emulate the Chinese in education, and an instructed Nationalism should fit into a world-wide civilization so that the people should learn to be at once citizens of their own country and of the modern world.

But what has all this to do with education? Much, every way. We set out to ascertain the function of education in the Tropical Far East, and I would suggest that we have found an answer. Education we have defined as the sum of all the processes that equip the child for life in adult society. The school is merely one among many other factors. Life in the modern tropics is dominated by economic forces, and that is the environment for which their education equips the children. Here is the reason why primary and technical instruction make slow progress, why diplomas depreciate in value, why the schools flood the land with clerks and lawyers, why in sum, the modern school merely teaches pupils how to make a living; and the more who go to school the less they earn. It is one reason also why Eastern schools, intended to train pupils for a different environment, decay. Enthusiasts for "education" may proclaim lofty ideals as to the function of the school, but "idealism is comparatively easy in the class room."[6] The teacher, whether modern schoolmaster or Buddhist monk, cannot shut out the environment by shutting his eyes to it. He may instill ideas that will inspire some pupil to challenge circumstance, and do a little, a very little, towards providing him with the necessary tools, but he cannot directly through the school change the environment. That is the function, not of the schoolmaster, but of the statesman. In the West the modern school teaches the pupils how to live, as formerly did the Eastern school. So far as the school succeeds in that, the more who go to school the better. So far as the school in the modern tropics fails in that, the fault lies not in the school or system of instruction, but in the world in which they function. If we want better schools, we must create a better world.

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[6] Mayhew, *Education in the Colonial Empire*, p. 35.

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CHAPTER VII

POST-WAR EDUCATION

Here perhaps we might stop. We have carried our inquiry beyond the limits of the classroom into the world outside. But we have not done with education. We have come to see it as a social rather than an individual process, and this will be more than ever important when we come to rebuild society in the post-war world. It seems that to get the children into school we must educate the parents; and we must educate the parents also before we can effectively instruct the children in hygiene and other matters of social welfare. We must make the parents want them, organize a demand for them. Similarly, if we are to extend technical instruction, we must organize a demand for it. Educational activities have been fettered by economic forces, because the society in which they function is only in economic contact with the modern world; we can not disregard economic forces, but we can control them in the interests of society and human welfare. If we would give greater freedom to the school, we must bring the people into cultural contact with the modern world. To do this does not lie within the province of the teacher, but it is a matter in which he has a vital interest. The problem of education in the tropics is then primarily a problem of adult education, including of course, all the paraphernalia of modern adult education, books, lectures and, still more, broadcasting, the cinema and so on, but with special reference to tropical society. It is a problem of social education. Obviously that is a matter of profound complexity, but our inquiries do seem to suggest certain lines on which, among others, it might be tackled.

Consider, for example, hygiene. For the prevention of epidemics it is necessary to world welfare that tropical peoples shall attain a minimum standard of modern hygienic knowledge and practice. Hygiene has no immediate and obvious cash value, and

871/ it is pre-eminently a sphere in which no man liveth to himself alone; it is of value to the community rather than to the individual, and it requires common or corporate action. To raise the standard of hygiene we must appeal to some motive other than and superior to the economic motive, the prospect of individual advantage, and must devise some machinery other than the economic machinery of unorganized supply and demand. But that is true also of primary instruction. Yet, under the impulse of nationalism, we have seen primary instruction spread throughout whole peoples, both for boys and girls, within a single generation. And we have seen much the same thing under foreign rule in Malaya and Netherlands India by a happy combination of European and native authority. Let us look at the machinery that has been employed.

If we analyze the machinery of social education in the tropics we find four distinct elements: the expert with a special knowledge of scientific principles in relation to his own subject; then, some one who by origin and upbringing is at home in Western thought, and by training and environment is sufficiently acquainted with the tropics to adapt scientific principles to native life; then, some one who by origin and upbringing is at home in native society but has sufficient knowledge of the West to carry the process of adaptation a stage further to the local circumstances of the particular people whom it is to benefit; and fourthly, some one with sufficient local influence to encourage the adoption of new methods. It is possible of course that one person may combine two or more of these qualifications. But it is rare that the scientific expert is also an expert in native life. Europeans in the tropics are transient and rarely have sufficient local knowledge or personal influence to do without a local coadjutor. Natives of the tropics who are really at home in the Western world are apt to lose touch with their own world. But the exact form of the machinery is indifferent so long as some machinery exists capable of the functions that we have just enumerated.

Hitherto such functions, so far as they have not been neglected, have devolved on members of the general administrative service. If in future they are to be more efficiently performed it will be necessary to provide a suitable training for the civil service. In the past colonial policy in this matter has differed widely. In Britain the policy has been to select men with a high standard of general education and to give them a year's training of a practical character, closely related to their work as magistrates and collectors of revenue. In France there has been a longer course—of three years, with a break during which the probationers were sent abroad for a short experience of colonial life. The Dutch system is based on a different conception of tropical administration; it is regarded as a profession requiring vocational training of university standard.[1] The Dutch administration in Netherlands India has two branches, one European and one Native. The European, who inherits an understanding of the West, has a five years' course in language, law, including customary law, tropical economy, anthropology and so on, designed to give him a knowledge of the East. The native, who inherits an understanding of the East, has a three years' course, designed to give him a knowledge of the West. Thus the two between them are able to place the scientific knowledge of experts in hygiene, agriculture and other matters at the disposal of the people. Moreover in the native civil service there is a strong hereditary element which increases its influence among the villagers. The Dutch system is, naturally, a product of gradual evolution in response to local circumstances, and could not be transplanted. But it aims at producing "social engineers," and, if the peoples of the tropics are to be brought into cultural contact with the Western world, a service of social engineers would seem to be essential. At the head there might well be, as Professor Julian Huxley has suggested, a Commissioner for Native Development, who would be responsible for the general education of the people, with, as one of his chief assistants, the Director of Public Instruction, to help him as regards the schools.

Other suggestions also emerge from our inquiry. It seems

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[1] Furnivall, J. S., "The Training for Civil Administration in Netherlands India," *Journal, Royal Central Asian Society,* 1934, p. 415.

87/ to have been greatly to the advantage of Thailand that it could draw on expert assistance from many different countries, and that it could choose freely among all countries in sending youths abroad for higher studies. The Philippines also have benefited in the same way, though to a less extent, by the double connection with Spain and the United States. In general however youths from a tropical dependency go to the colonial power, and the higher administrators are drawn from that power instead of from many different countries. And in sending youth abroad, it seems especially desirable that they should go to other countries of the Tropical Far East, where so many of the problems are so similar.

And here we come to what is perhaps the point of chief importance that our inquiry has made clear. We have seen that during the nineteenth century the progress of education followed much the same course in all these countries, and with much the same results. This has continued during the present century. It opened with a renewed interest in education and a new statement of policy that everywhere was very much the same. Since then the problem of educated unemployables in all these countries has grown more urgent. In each country there have been numerous inquiries into technical and agricultural instruction, and the reports in any one country might serve for any other; they reveal much the same facts, come to much the same conclusions, and make much the same recommendations. There have also been numerous experiments with much the same results. In general there have been similar vacillations of policy as to sending men abroad for higher studies, and everywhere provision for higher studies has been made in universities: the University of the Philippines since 1908; the Chulalongkorn University, founded in 1917, and the University of Hanoi, reopened in the same year; the Bandoeng College of Engineering, established in 1919 and followed a few years later by Colleges of Law and Medicine; the University of Rangoon, dating from 1929; Raffles College, with a course aiming at the standard of a pass degree, founded in 1928, and the Imperial University in Formosa in 1929. In all the dependencies of colonial powers the nationalist movement has followed much the same course, giving rise first to associations to cooperate with government in promoting education, then breaking away to found nationalist schools, that in due course have accepted government assistance and adopted a curriculum very similar to that of the official system. We find again, generally and at much the same time, new regulations to tighten up control over private instruction by requiring the registration of schools. With all these and many other questions arising from the polyglot character of the plural society common to all these countries, it seems essential that there should be some permanent international committee to deal, not merely with education in the narrow sense of schooling and instruction, but with superintending and promoting native development, and stirring up emulation in well-doing between the different communities in each country and between the several countries and peoples. Here we would seem to have a means of promoting harmonious relations between the different communities in each country so as to foster a common social life, and between the different countries so as to foster an instructed nationalism that might be as valuable a force in world civilization as the family in national life. If, by thus pooling our knowledge and experience, we could devise a means of social education, training the people of these countries as members of the great human family, citizens of the modern world, then the education of the child would necessarily equip him for life in such a social order, and the school, helping him to look beyond the narrow limits of his village and his people, would again have its traditional character, that in the West it has never wholly lost, of giving the children life more abundantly and teaching them how to live.

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SUPPLEMENT

TRAINING FOR NATIVE SELF-RULE

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TRAINING FOR NATIVE SELF-RULE

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It will be evident to readers of the preceding pages that they mark a turning point in colonial education. Mr. Furnivall's review of educational progress in Southeast Asia ends with the era which came to a close on August 14, 1941, when the British Prime Minister and the President of the United States issued the joint declaration which was subsequently to be signed by all the United Nations and to become known as the Atlantic Charter. Already in the last phase of the epoch covered by this study, described by the author as that of "efficiency and social justice," the welfare of natives had in principle been placed before all other considerations in the development of educational policies for the dependencies of Southeast Asia. But the third article of the Atlantic Charter by implication changes the educational objective in its very heart. The era ended on a note of conflicting aims, of "general perplexity"; a new era may well have begun with the pledge "to respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." That "respect" implies an active furtherance of self-government, in the colonial dependencies no less than elsewhere, at least to the extent of helping the subject peoples through suitable educational disciplines to acquire the mental prerequisites of self-government.

Educational Implications of the Atlantic Charter

The evaluation of educational principles and practices just at the point where they must undergo a revolutionary change is a delicate and difficult task. When the preceding study was completed, there had not yet been wide public discussion of the Atlantic Charter and the meaning of its various propositions. Its educational implications have, in fact, received almost no attention even yet (March 1943). The question raised in the minds of some whether the joint declaration applied at all to the colonial regions of the world has been resolved by authoritative confirmation. The major differences in the interpretation of the document hinge on the relative importance to be attached to its various articles and on the speed with which one may hope to see its various aims achieved.

One of the special values of the preceding study is its demonstration that the diverse forces which make for the progress of the subject peoples are interrelated. Education, both formal and experimental, obviously is one of these forces. It may put life and energy into other processes of advance; it may give them direction. But it is in turn inspired and directed by the new possibilities of material advance and the new hopes of cultural satisfactions that spring from changed conditions. For whole peoples to acquire control over their environment, to conquer their own limitations, involves a multiple task.

Mr. Furnivall's historical account and his analysis of the current school systems in the region under survey suggest that oriental societies have their own characteristic fetters but also their own characteristic dynamics. Fetters may be broken and currents of life be geared to conscious aims. Educational agencies and institutions (but not merely those of instruction) are the instruments through which social transformation becomes the object of conscious and purposeful management.

Mr. Furnivall suggests that "all educational effort in the tropics is conditioned by the economic environment," and "there is no common social will by which economic forces may be restrained." But the evidence shows only that there is no way of controlling these forces from without; they have already for half a century been animated and directed from within oriental society by the movement variously described as nationalism, nativism, or any of the vaguely racial or cultural combinations that are stronger in their opposition to the existing order than they are in constructive purposes. The inner unity of the native societies, destroyed by the plural economy of modern colonial regimes, can be restored only from within. What Mr. Furnivall calls "instructed nationalism," and not the manipulation of extraneous incentives, will enable the peoples of tropical Asia to become citizens of the modern world.

All efforts to infuse oriental society with occidental ambitions 000 unrelated to the inner springs of oriental culture have failed. The new goal of self-determination, however we may define it and however long its attainment may take, does not call for new loads of learning in the curricular sense as much as it calls for a freeing of desires already present in a large part of oriental society. To lift the incubus of alien domination is quite as much a prerequisite of the new alignment as is the provision of more adequate educational tools.

Another special value of this study is that, having examined the various systems of education and the principles that have motivated them at different times, it indicates in concise and practical terms the point of departure for the future. It is the point at which a negative nationalism, though now probably the principal motivating force, no longer suffices as a guide to the ends that must be achieved. For, despite all the diversity of conditions, differences in rates of growth, and conflicts of cultures, it is after all a single world society into which these oriental societies must train themselves to fit if they are to survive. Neither mass education nor higher education can meet what is expected of it in the new era if it does not promote, in addition to native development within the specific environment of each group, also a harmonious interaction of the various communities, countries, and peoples. In one respect, then, the educational post-war problem in Southeast Asia is no different from that in other parts of the world. It is the problem which at the 1942 conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations was described as that of a "two-way cultural traffic, a real interchange of cultures between East and West."[1] Actually it is a problem of multiple cultural exchange[2] and not least exchange between groups within the region that are in different stages of cultural maturity.

On its educational side, this problem was explored at the 1933 conference of the Institute, which arrived at two conclusions: first, that an increase in mutual knowledge between two peoples or culture groups in itself does not necessarily make for greater harmony or assimilation but may actually sharpen a sense of difference and of conflict; second, that too rapid an impact of one culture upon another arouses fears, engenders resistance, and so tends to hinder rather than help the readjustment of traditional ideas.[8] These dangers are fully realized by those colonial administrators who sympathize with the aim of self-determination for dependent peoples. Sometimes they put their doubts in the form of questions, such as these: Does anyone really believe that the Dyak headhunters of Borneo can become self-governing in a generation, or even two? Do not the Burmese people for all practical purposes exercise the functions of a free people—what have they to gain from losing their slender ties with the British Commonwealth? Of what use are political self-government and economic freedom going to be to peoples whose thinking is dominated by shamanism and primitive religious fears? Will not a strengthening of the demand for self-determination increase the unhappiness, without increasing the economic strength, of the native rubber-growers in Sumatra who have grown prosperous under alien domination of their industry? Will not increased independence make all the more difficult the accomplishment of the one thing all these peoples need most for their security: the strengthening of international interdependence?

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[1] *War and Peace in the Pacific*, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1943, p. 112.

[2] For an illustration, see Stuart Lilico, "Pan-America or Pan-Malaya: Which Will the Filipino Choose?" *Asia and the Americas*, March 1943, pp. 148-150.

This is not, of course, the place to argue these matters. It may be pointed out, however, that on a few preliminary answers to all such questions most thoughtful students of colonial problems are agreed. First, obviously political freedom alone does not suffice. There is nothing in the Atlantic Charter or in any other authoritative declaration of United Nations war aims to warrant the assumption that any of the powers with colonial possessions will attempt simply to transfer sovereignty to the subject people regardless of their ability to rule themselves. If it were possible to apply some objective standards to the measurement of tasks and results, the time it must take to prepare different peoples for self-government would certainly be seen to vary greatly. As to trusting too much in political reforms, other articles of the Charter impose upon all the governments 000 the duty of helping in the emancipation of the people from crushing economic burdens, from the extraneous limitations imposed upon their productivity and hence also on their consuming power. Third, the diverse movements that are commonly labeled "nationalistic" also contain many germs of internationalism. They are usually directed against an oppressive imperialism but not necessarily against collaboration with others, East and West, for common ends. Indeed, so-called nationalism in Southeast Asia owes much of its incentive to a desire for cultural enlargement, for a sharing in all the benefits which the genius of a few great centers of civilization has bestowed upon the world. The nationalists of Southeast Asia are not exponents of a policy of "Balkanization." They are not even, for the most part, ardent regionalists but in addition to the common bonds between the different sections of native society also recognize the bonds which that society as a whole has with humanity at large. All they insist upon is that every people, every ethnic group, shall have the right to retain what it cherishes in its own cultural heritage, the right also to abandon whatever customs, traditions or laws of old may stand in the way of their freedom, and the right to participate freely and as equals in the making and the administration of the laws that govern larger political entities of which they are part.

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[8] *Problems of the Pacific, 1933*. London and Chicago, 1934, p. 218 *et seq.*

The Goal of Self-Determination

It is true that some colonial administrators do not yet take freedom itself very seriously as an object of policy. They may have worked so assiduously and so long for the welfare of their "wards" as to have come to regard the accustomed apparatus of colonial government—if not themselves—as indispensable. Some of them may be unable to imagine the native society over whose slow progress they have watched as entering into the full maturity of responsible citizenship. They may even be able to point to actual instalments of a freer life produced by their own efforts and ask without undue pride why reliance should not be had in the same safe line of progress. Does any sane and well informed person believe, such an administrator may ask, that more substantial progress toward the "four freedoms" would have been made under native rule?

In a sense, then, it is true that, whether this was the aim of colonial rule or not, it has in many of its recent phases contributed toward its own eventual liquidation by strengthening native society at those points at which potential self-government begins. And Mr. Furnivall's study shows that the teacher, with all the limitations placed upon him, has at least here and there succeeded to "inspire some pupil to challenge circumstance."

In any case, there is need for a fuller discussion of the part which education can play in what is essentially a movement of liberation if we understand that term as including positive and constructive as well as unchaining, revolutionizing forms and phases of action. If for the present we think of "self-determination" with its broader implications and not merely of "self-government" (though that is the term used in the Atlantic Charter) we shall by-pass the controversy as to the time it must take economically and culturally backward peoples and population groups to acquire the qualifications for modern citizenship; and the interest of some may be invoked who see political autonomy as a rather remote end.

Such a substitution of the less precise for the more definite term may not please all of those who trust in learning through participation, those who believe that the art of democratic government can be learned only through its exercise. But even these political reformers may agree that the requisite habits of mind and abilities can be trained in smaller and somewhat different areas of responsibility, later to be transferred to the national political scene.[4] In any case, it is not, as Mr. Furnivall reminds us, the function of the schoolmaster to provide the setting in and through which the individual shall receive his informal learning and apply what he has learned. At best he can

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[4] For example, in 1906 a full-fledged Labour Party made its first appearance in the British Parliament. Of the 53 party members elected only a very few had previously held national office, but all had been trained in the schools of labor organization and of local government. In Parliament the party was from the start equipped for effective participation by the long and practical experience of its members in the use of the requisite techniques.

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provide him with analogous situations, so as to give him opportunities for practice in the arts of life.

Some educators insist that a sound educational system must prepare the whole of society, and not just a few, for the exigencies of here and now. They correspondingly deprecate a moral or humanistic education for some far-off utopia the constant contemplation of which may actually unfit the recipient of such education for an effective functioning in his actual setting. This is a matter of concern everywhere, but it is perhaps most pronounced in the East where education has more fully continued into modern times as a professional prerogative of the religionist.[5] If we accept the challenge of these realists we are obliged to define the war aim expressed in article three in terms of steps that lead to self-government, a *gradus ad parnassum* leading safely—and painlessly—to the proclaimed ideal. Some such idea often lies behind the emphasis which colonial educators lay upon vocational training and the teaching of hygiene. They see livelihood and health as objects easy to understand and therefore suitable starting points for training the minds of simple people in receptiveness to new ideas; incidentally these subjects, taken directly from the pupils' environment, also afford rich opportunities for evoking individual initiative and for building habits both of self-reliance and of cooperation. If a large enough proportion of the people, both children and adults, take part in such learning experiences, these teachers hold, the ground will have been laid for the practice of social self-determination, and the transference of what has been learned from the narrower to the wider environment, from economic and social to political situations, will not be too difficult.

All will agree that it must depend on the circumstances and on the stage of social development in which a particular people finds itself whether an immediate large forward step in the widening of the area of responsibility is practicable or not. For example, a fairly large degree of autonomy in a region where the economy is still entirely pre-industrial may be preferable to

[5] See, for example, Zakir Husain, *Post-War Education in India*, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1942.

outside interference even from the standpoint of internal security; but it does not follow that the inhabitants of such a region, expert in the management of their native economy, would be able to protect their interests directly by holding franchises in a more inclusive political system. This is evident from the illustrations offered by Mr. Furnivall of the mental preparation of different peoples in Southeast Asia for the relatively modest advances in native participation in government that were open to them before the war. For, although there has been considerable, even surprising similarity in the evolution of educational policies throughout the region, the results have differed widely. Unforeseen responses and reactions have halted progress where it seemed most assured. Profit and prestige have operated, as they do everywhere, to elicit application to learning; but peculiar traits in the inherited culture, peculiar conflicts between old and new incentives, peculiar maladjustments between ambitions fostered by the schools and the scale of values more sincerely shown by society in the apportionment of vocational rewards—all have tended to divert talents from socially useful to socially useless and even harmful forms of their exercise.

Sources of Educational Dynamic

With all their desire to be realistic, the colonial schoolmen have often missed the essential clue to success. They have blamed the petrifaction or the degeneracy or the complexity or merely the backwardness of oriental society for lack of educational progress when they should have blamed their lack of success in finding its hidden dynamic. Even when admitting that native society is not altogether lifeless but continues to evolve, the alien official often thinks of the only thing that can animate an educational process in purely occidental terms and is liable to miss it when he encounters it in unfamiliar forms. The present writer has met many schoolmen in tropical Asia (and in other parts of the Far East) who could understand and sympathize with the ambitions of those natives who, having received some foreign schooling, showed a strong desire for profit, preferment and prestige—showed it in familiar ways;

but the same men often supposed, without any proof whatever, that those who did not respond to typical Western incentives, or responded without alacrity, were altogether lacking in ambition.

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There are, of course, other schoolmen and public officials who go below the surface of appearances and catch a glimpse of the latent ambitions in these old societies. Or sometimes a chance circumstance, such as a tenant uprising or an agitation against Chinese or Indian middlemen, discloses that under the crust of old-established social relations, of conservative practices, of regard for custom and native law, there flickers that same spirit of revolt against tyranny which is so often falsely regarded as bound up with the individualistic post-Renaissance civilization of the West. Revolt against social injustice or against the tyranny of tradition is not a new disorder of the social fabric, even in tropical Asia, though the mysterious travel of new ideas may have given it a new impetus. The opposite statement would be nearer the truth: there is a sense of human dignity in oriental societies that has never quite permeated the newer and more barbarian societies of the occident. Without it the world would, indeed, be divided into master races and slave races. Conquest and class rule have not extinguished the spark of latent revolt.

In Burma, in Indo-China, in the Indies, throughout tropical Asia, hope and defiance have broken again and again through the dams so carefully built to uphold privilege, have overflown the channels that were to provide safe outlets for native energies. Almost every native insurrection in recent times has been attributed by Western officials to the infiltration of communist influences. But no colonial author, as far as the present writer knows, has yet explained why these agitations—usually very small affairs in terms of personnel and sums expended—secured so large a response. What element is there in oriental society which thus responds?

Most colonial governments have preferred to deny the existence of an inherent dissatisfaction in native society until they were obliged to acknowledge it. If their benevolent plans for the native welfare meet with suspicion or opposition they tend to ascribe this to the lethargy and the ignorance of the people. Volumes have been written about the inertia of tropical societies—a thesis refuted every time such a society has the chance to rise against oppression. Exactly the same phenomenon may, of course, also be noted in non-tropical countries where one racial or national group dominates over another. As long as such a myth can be maintained, the ruling group accounts for the lack of progress in the subject group by declaring it to be lacking in native ability, in spirit, and in ambition. When discontent rises, it must be explained with yet another myth: the mysterious power of a small group of outside agitators who work upon the poor but normally happy people and make them act outside the established character.

On such evidence as we have it is safer to conclude that latent discontent is the primary source of educational ambition when suddenly it surges up in unexpected places. This does not, of course, preclude that stimuli from without may play a vital part in the release of that inner force. It is quite true that a relatively liberal educational policy, sensitive to native psychology, has in Malaya and in the Netherlands Indies turned ambition into socially productive channels. In Indo-China, on the contrary, the movement seems more often to have been in the opposite direction: only very strong expressions of native discontent have stimulated the government to introduce forward steps in the educational system. But again the educational safety engineers went to work: in the 'twenties began the systematic attempt to link the lower schools more and more to the native culture, so as to deflate whatever influence they may have had on political aspirations, and to alienate the higher schools from native culture by gearing them more securely to French culture—thus to cut the roots of an Annamite nationalism that had already grown too far to be stunted or repressed. The resulting growth of dissatisfaction only made for even greater reaction on the part of the authorities.[6] Perhaps one may add that in the difficulties of the 'thirties with their economic upheaval, and the tragedy of the 'forties with the enslavement of the whole country by Japan Annamite nationalism has achieved its education for self-determination—despite and not through the school system.

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[6] Virginia Thompson, *French Indo-China*, New York, 1937, p. 293 *et seq.*

These contrasting examples must suffice to reinforce a central thought of Mr. Furnivall's conclusions. He enumerates many of the difficulties which nativist movements have created for an orderly pursuit of educational policies, shows that at times they have changed the character of the school systems and perhaps even exercised an unfortunate influence on it. And yet it is clear that during this last generation the educational motive power arising from the inner core of native society might have become dissipated and produced a new sense of frustration had not the educational policies and programs themselves been flexible and alive with real enthusiasm. The awakening desires of the people have been, and again can be, turned to good account.

Tradition and Progress

As has already been intimated, the Indonesian and Malay peoples have often been libeled by those who ascribe to them a traditionalism quite distinct from that in other parts of the world. Not all occidentals who have gone through school and vote in elections are free from the pull of value judgments unrelated to the world of today. The views expressed in any Western public assembly show how many influential people still take their criteria from days when the use of steam power was but a dream and electric currents unheard of outside the laboratory. And these outdated views affect not only personal tastes but also moral judgments which in the aggregate press heavily upon public opinion. The oriental peasant or small businessman who sends his children to a modern school has taken at least the first step toward a mental readjustment which is a world need. His motive may be personal and economic, but more often it is made up of several strands. He realizes at least vaguely that the material basis for the "good old days" has gone or is disappearing. Neither possessions nor the good opinion of his neighbors can give him the security he seeks for himself and his children.

The unadjusted occidental is liable to compensate for a troublesome present by dwelling inwardly on memories—authentic or fictional—of a golden age; the oriental still has so much of the past around him that its contemplation does not take his mind away from his troubles. It may be said that he is less in need of compensation because less is expected of him in rational adjustment to the conditions of modern civilization. The emotional pull which at times takes him "out of himself" is not, in fact, away from realism but toward it: toward the seemingly magic source of that strange new civilization which fascinates him and draws him on.

Even the Buddhist schools of Burma and the Mohammedan schools of Java are obliged to take notice of this urge. They have gone a considerable way to adapt their practices to the demands of the people; and what the people demand of schooling is that it help them to come to grips with the meaning as well as with the mechanics of the modern side of their environment. Of course, neither the public nor the private school can easily abandon the older values. On the contrary, some show of respect for the inherited culture is essential to gain the confidence of the people. They want the new arts; but they also want the security of tested wisdom. A former governor of East Java tells a graphic story of the success with which illiteracy was combated in his province by the introduction of native song and poetry into the "readers," and by the establishment of village libraries on community premises that also serve the customary rites and pastimes.[7]

The creative ability shown by those Orientals who have had the chance to combine a knowledge of Western science with respect for their own people and their historic culture is the best answer to those who see only a disruptive force in modern education, and especially in higher education. That ability overcomes many obstacles—even the deliberate attempt to confront the student or the graduate with a wholly unnecessary clear-cut choice to declare himself either for the old or for the new learning. Foreign learning itself—or, better, modern learning, for, its sources are no longer limited to distant lands—when 000 pursued far enough will turn the oriental student back from too intensive a longing for the external finish and glitter of occidental accomplishments to a fairer appraisal of his own heritage.

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[7] Charles O. van der Plas, "The Battle against Illiteracy," appendix to *Educational Developments in the Netherlands Indies*, by Raden Loekman Djajadiningrat, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1942, mim.

The charge is often made against a native intelligentsia that it is selfish, unstable in its ideals, possessed of an inferiority complex, and easily corrupted by doles. In answer to such a charge, a French university teacher from Hanoi writes:

> "Nothing is farther from the truth. On the contrary, the long years which I have spent in different parts of the Far East have convinced me that of all the upper classes that have formed in Eastern Asia since the beginning of this century the Indo-Chinese is certainly one of the best equipped and most gifted with creative energy. We have been berated for trying to inculcate our students with French learning; but that learning is not the superficial varnish which the critics suppose it to be. The elite [he cites many distinguished names] . . is proof that our hope in it has not been vain."[8]

Mass Education or Education for Leadership?

Mention of the role of an elite—comprising men and women of outstanding achievement in the arts and professions, in industry, commerce, science, and government—brings up a key problem which Mr. Furnivall's study raises without answering: that is the relative importance of mass education and of training for leadership. Both are needed, of course. Both are complex tasks in themselves; and a third category of problems arises precisely from their combination in a single school system. Thus, it is pointed out in the concluding chapter of this study that "to get the children into school we must educate the parents." Before the people can want the knowledge and the skills which schools may be able to give their children, they must have been brought into contact with that side of their pluralistic universe in which these things count; and this contact can most

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[8] Pierre Laurin, *La France en Indo-Chine*, Publications de la France Combattante, London, 1942, p. 46. It may be added here that in the field of art the two great French Institutions in Indo-China have unquestionably released much native talent through a successful blending of traditional and modern techniques and art forms.

000 effectively be established by leading members of their own community in whom they trust. And yet, according to many observers on the scene whom the present writer has interviewed, even that is not enough: without the elementary disciplines, especially without literacy, it is exceedingly difficult for simple peasant and laboring folk to form criteria with which to judge the *bona fides* or the ability of those who offer themselves for posts of leadership. As long as any kind of magic quality adheres to unusual accomplishment, it affords no safe reliance. In the long run it will make little difference whether the educated leaders are imbued with social enthusiasm or with secret personal ambitions: they cannot but be disturbing elements if their will alone and not also the common sense of the people dictate the direction of progress. The populace must be at least far enough advanced in modern knowledge to understand aims and to comprehend the general character of proposed means. It must be literate enough at least to ask penetrating questions.

The educational authorities would face an insoluble problem if they had to decide which comes first, schools for children or a generous provision for adult education. Most of them know that they must do both. In the Philippines they plunged at first for the common school, for that had been the great American tradition; but already, in recent pre-war years, the Commonwealth Government, seeing the greatest hindrance to progress in the ignorance of the average villager who has had only a very few years of elementary schooling, has embarked on a vigorous program of adult education, administered since 1936 by an Office of Adult Education in the Department of Public Instruction.

> "Our regional surveys have revealed one fundamental weakness of Filipino life: ignorance with its concomitants—poverty and civic disintegration. Illiteracy is at the root of this weakness which forms a serious drawback to Philippine culture and progress. To remove the cause requires the formulation and adoption of an educational program which would raise the general intellectual level of the common *tao* (peasant). Until this level is attained, all efforts of the Commonwealth Government to improve the social and economic well-being of the masses will prove futile. Social justice may only shift

the balance and allow the perpetuation of injustice by the laboring class. Ignorance and social justice cannot long go hand in hand."[9]

Significantly, Thailand, the only independent nation of Southeast Asia, also has stressed adult education to an unusual degree in its recent educational policies, although the country's school system as a whole is as yet less developed than that of most of the colonial dependencies in that region. Under the constitutional amendments of 1932, a literacy test was to have been applied to the franchise in ten years' time, and to make this practicable a vigorous adult-educational program was introduced. Incidentally, this program also had a culturally nationalist and anti-Chinese bias[10] and was combined with much needed popular instruction in hygiene, agriculture, and animal husbandry.

The thought occurs that perhaps only incipient democracies can afford to make their citizens receptive to the information and ideas which literacy supplies without first subjecting the population to the slow conditioning process of universal schooling.[11] It is true, of course, that in other countries of Southeast Asia, too, progress has been made in the combat of adult illiteracy, notably in the Netherlands Indies; but there it has taken place only because the government felt sure that it could control what people would read after they had become able to do so.[12] In French Indo-China there has at times seemed to be a surprising lack of censorship; but further inquiry revealed that periodicals openly critical of the government were permitted to circulate only when they were published in the French language and therefore did not in the least influence the masses. To protect the French-educated Annamite intelligentsia from the effect of subversive literature would have been impossible. A similar seeming liberalism in the attitude of governments toward publications in European languages is to be found in a large part of the Far East—always because effective suppression would be too costly in proportion to the relatively small harm done by a literature which only a few even among the educated can read.

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[9] Director of Education, Report for 1938, as quoted by J. R. Hayden in *The Philippines, a Study in National Development,* New York, 1942, p. 532.

[10] Kenneth P. Landon, *The Chinese in Thailand,* Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1941, p. 282.

[11] A well-known Chinese educator, P. C. Chang, some years ago, after a survey of rural schools in northern and central China, was so impressed with the slowness of their improvement that he led a national campaign for the diversion of funds from the maintenance of elementary schools to a rapid increase in nonliterate adult education—making use of radio, motion picture, travel exhibits, poster art, and so forth. A middle path between reliance on the public schools and adult education is provided in China by the Mass Education Movement which still continues in war time under the direction of Y. C. James Yen and from which stem several other adult-educational movements of an even more popular character. While a simplified teaching for literacy is the kernel of Yen's program, the other campaigns make use of the old Chinese arts of story telling and the popular drama.

[12] See K. A. H. Hidding, "The Bureau for Popular Literature," *Bulletin of the Colonial Institute of Amsterdam,* I, 3, May 1938, pp. 185-94; for a criticism of the policy: G. H. Bousquet, *A French View of the Netherlands Indies,* Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1940, p. 98.

Mass education for self-determination certainly has its dangers. Even when preparation for eventual independence of the subject people is a matter of policy with the authorities, there are intermediate steps toward that objective which cannot with impunity be skipped. Recognition of the need for a graded progress is something very different from a desire to suppress all ambition or to guide it into channels where it cannot come into conflict with the interests of the ruling group.

Education for Economic Security

There is, as Mr. Furnivall intimates, a long history of striving among colonial educators for a balance between progress and security—security, that is, for the existing order. There have been notable changes in emphasis; but in essence the task has remained within the orbit of a justifiable concern with law and order as prerequisites of prosperity. As the more enlightened administrations see it, this concern does not involve a static indigenous society but demands a good deal of movement up and down the social ladder, individual competition and loosening up of caste and class differentiations. What they aim at is not a dead stability but as much internal social life and ferment as is compatible with the unquestioned authority of law.

As a result, vocational education has received marked attention in most of the countries under survey. Both in the schools and out of them a kind of instruction was stressed which Mr. Furnivall describes as "preparation for a life of business" as distinct from "preparation for the business of life." Money000 was spent cheerfully to demonstrate the efficacy of an improved plow, to introduce a new commercial crop, even to unmask the villainy of the mosquito and to proclaim the virtue of fertilizer—in its proper place. The departments of health and of agriculture, sometimes also others, vied with the departments of public instruction in efforts directed primarily toward the increase of the villager's productivity. Without such increase there could be no improvement in living standards, no prolongation of life expectancy, no building up of native capital to break the monopoly of alien Orientals, no schools. For, as Mr. Furnivall reminds us, "the school is only one among many other factors. Life in the modern tropics is dominated by economic forces."

Of course, no one believes that higher productivity alone will insure a higher degree of prosperity. The producer must also be able to hold on to his fair share in his product and know how to put it to uses that benefit him and his fellows. It is at this point that vocational training in the narrow sense is reinforced, in most of the educational systems of the region, by other kinds of training about which there is a good deal more controversy. The technical educational reports tell only part of the story. They do not usually exaggerate the part played by vocational training in economic betterment, because it would be difficult to do so. But the more discerning of the educators at least realize that there will be little lasting improvement in the condition of the masses unless they also learn to organize for the protection of their economic interests. Obviously, however, that is outside the province of the schoolmen. Except where, as in Malaya, the government takes a hand in stimulating and supervising the formation of trade unions among certain limited categories of workers (more especially to prevent strikes at the waterfront, in communications, and in public works—hence in essence company unions), economic organization is more often a by-product of organization promoted for other ends.[13] However, in some instances government agencies

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[13] See reports of the Netherlands Indies Public Health Service, Netherlands Indies and Philippine reports on the organization of cooperatives and credit

8: Furnivall G-4 (no date) 1943 ALI Southeast Asia ALI

C00 have made joint cause with indigenous community leaders to organize the people for an effective promotion of thrift, of methods to curb the monopoly position of alien middlemen and moneylenders, even of methods to protect tenants against rapacious landlords. In some localities, if not as yet widely, government agents have lent a hand in experimental applications of the co-partnership principle to native enterprise under conditions that sufficiently resemble old customary forms of collaboration to find acceptance. Thus, in most of the countries of the region new forms of self-help have developed, either with the active aid of the government or at least with its tacit approval, which contain the most valuable of all germs of democratic procedure and training in self-determination. Public discussion of local problems has been invigorated, and sometimes school authorities will admit that the vitality of the school system itself, especially its combat of illiteracy, has been favorably affected.

The nativist movement in many parts of Southeast Asia, according to some writers who know it intimately, is not originally political but economic. The most successful adult-educational programs have usually been those which helped the people in their attempt to grope their way out from under one kind of monopoly or another or to regain ancient common rights. Even the native reformers who have taken part in such campaigns often admit that education alone can sometimes conquer the usurpation of power by native or foreign exploiters: it alone can overcome the inner weakness of the people's cause, the sense of frustration created by the violation of its rights through so many generations. It is the children of such native leaders as these, themselves not yet altogether emancipated from the shackles of the past, who "elbow their way into the schools." They believe in literacy. The more liberal regimes of Southeast Asia deserve credit for having permitted, and sometimes fostered, a great deal of experimental economic education which must precede a popular appreciation for the added power which systematic schooling can confer.

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unions, bureaus charged with the development of village industries, and local government generally.

Educational Effects of Industrialization

The local rural community has not been much changed by 000 even considerable improvements in agricultural techniques unless intensification has meant the use of more complicated tools, the growth of processing and other associated industries, and, above all, participation of the villagers in either economic or administrative (public health, sports, defense, local government) management. The social structure is, of course, more liable to be conservative in purely agricultural areas than in those with a mixed economy. From many examples, especially in the Philippines and in the Netherlands Indies, it appears that those areas which permit of a substantial growth of small or subsidiary industries, at least, have the advantage over others in a multitude of opportunities for education. The social history of the Industrial Revolution as the West first knew it here repeats itself.[14]

"The same decade," writes a Netherlands Indian official, "which was marked by the upward curve in the line of economic development showed an equally important turning point in the social organization of the country. There was an impressive expansion of education, coupled with the transfer of its management to autonomous councils, mostly with Indonesian majorities in control: transfer of public health services to the same social-political institutions; formation of producers' unions for obtaining better distribution of income for all who collaborate in production, with here and there spontaneously organized social provisions for the workmen; there were savings in the Indonesian community, which have been invested in productive ventures instead of in sterile gold. This all seems conclusive evidence that in these years forces have grown in the Netherlands Indies which will carry the land more and more rapidly to greater freedom and prosperity."[15]

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[14] It is sometimes falsely assumed that the incipient industries, with their use of child labor, held back the development of public school systems in Europe and America. Actually, the opposite was the case; and interestingly enough, as in the Far East today, the child's path to school was cleared by the tired father's faltering steps to the night class. The radical workers' movements in the first third of the nineteenth century saw in education primarily a means of economic revolt. The simple evening schools of the Chartists and Owenites in the British Isles were followed by the establishment of hundreds of Mechanics Institutes—many years before there were any public schools. The London Workingmen's Association and similar bodies were, indeed, instrumental in the passage of the early education acts.

In the Philippines it is even more difficult to dissocia[illegible] and evaluate separately the various forces that have mad[illegible]r greater freedom and prosperity. They have so interacted [illegible] to create the semblance of a single organized movement in which the public school takes its place among many other instruments and influences. But actually the school system introduced under American rule could hardly at first have had much influence on the economic functioning of a typical Filipino community. That community continued to exist under the domination of the landlord-politician and of the most reactionary branch of the Catholic Church. The new teachers had, for the most part, no experience of oriental social life and, of course, little knowledge of the technical means of livelihood in a tropical environment. Yet, their effect on attitudes and habits, their faith in the importance of the individual, their belief in the dignity of manual labor—sometimes by example as well as by precept—all contrived to produce a considerable change in personal and social value judgments. Despite the continuing dominance of the older institutions, the social crust was pierced by ambitions that had been latent and were now brought to full bloom. Not all the new demand for knowledge and freedom was superficial and imitative, as unsympathetic foreign observers have tried to convey. Many a fountain pen really held ink and rested over a heart that beat in sympathy with a new rhythm; many a framed photograph expressed pride in genuine achievement.[16]

The American school system in the Philippines has justly been criticized as wasteful; but at least a useful byproduct has been the enhanced ability of the people to make use of the local resources and of their own talents, to think ahead a little way, to have faith in themselves. Through improved agricultural methods, through new enterprises connected with processing and manufacture of the resources, many parts of the

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[15] Peter H. W. Sitsen, *The Industrial Development of the Netherlands Indies*, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1942, min., pp. 9-10.

[16] See Joseph R. Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 528.

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Philippines have since come to realize the importance of technical knowledge. In the course of time, those who possessed such knowledge brought into the community also knowledge of organizational methods or acquired it through the trial and error of their own efforts. Thus a trail was cut through the economic jungle of the hybrid Filipino-Spanish-American community life to basic changes also in social relations. At least it may be said for a large part of the Philippines that modern knowledge of sorts has permeated the whole of society to such an extent that only a resort to force could now resurrect the exploitative structure for which "law and order" were maintained through the centuries.

Formerly it was usually the son of a middle-class home who, after receiving a higher education, took hold of the economic opportunities of some rural enterprise which prospered not so much through his application or his ingenuity as through the monopoly market afforded by American protection. Such a person might advance his fortune in opposition to the local landed aristocracy; but quite often—as is the wont among successful businessmen everywhere—he would be drawn into it. Today the modernizing influence of that class is still considerable, not only in the technical improvement of long established forms of rural enterprise but also in the introduction of industries that require capital in larger doses than the local landlord, who is also the banker and the moneylender, is willing to supply while usury still flourishes. But the influence of that class is increasingly matched and challenged by that of yet another class: the man of the people who has received a modest education and who has risen to popular leadership through new possibilities of local organization. Whether he, too, will be absorbed or will lead his Israel out of Egypt remains to be seen.[17]

Public Service and Political Education

The emergence of a continuous professional leadership of the people's cause, such as has arisen in the Western world, is favored by the increasing opportunity, in colonial society too, for successful careers in public and private organizational and administrative services.[18] Reference has already been made to some new branches of public activity in that society that are rich in educational byproducts. Even in those countries of Southeast Asia that have continued "indirect rule" the old relationship of the central authorities to local administration has undergone great changes in recent times. It is no longer the Sultan or the Resident who determines what new services shall be introduced or how they shall be run. The direct activities of the central government may leave the core of custom and native law untouched but operate precisely in those areas of the social life where change is imminent. And it is there that the learning process goes on apace. The conservation of traditional culture values has not ceased to be an object of governmental care; but it is an object that can be pursued—and more and more is pursued—with understanding for all the implications, with skill, and with an economic sense of values. It is no longer allowed to stand, as self-purpose, in the way of necessary reforms—even of such re-education of popular attitudes and beliefs as may, at some future time, threaten the established order in so far as it rests on ancient superstitions.

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[17] The prospect for a united, purposeful and responsible labor movement in the Philippines looks decidedly hopeful according to a recent American study: Kenneth K. Kurihara, *Labor in the Philippine National Economy* (unpublished manuscript).

Moreover, the interested reader will find in the literature of colonial administration examples of innovations in native life that could not have been brought about except through an effective use of values current in the traditional culture complex. Again, it should be pointed out that in this respect progress in the Asiatic tropics hardly differs from that in the Occident: almost no great movement of reform in recent history, East or West, has been able to dispense with an appeal to the sanction of tradition.

[18] The general case for a rapid increase in the number and proportion of natives admitted to the colonial civil services is, of course, much larger than it would be merely on grounds of training for self-rule. The subject is treated admirably in the pamphlet *Downing Street and the Colonies,* prepared by the Faban Colonial Bureau (London, 1942). Although the references of that study are largely to African experience, the authors would probably agree that the case for a rapid substitution of native for European administrative and technical public employees is even stronger and more urgent in the Asiatic dependencies.

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Once the political machinery of democratic government has begun to operate, even the rural population is drawn more and more into the discussion of issues and into the clash of parties. Superficial appearances may discredit this view. The introduction of limited franchises in Thailand, the Philippines, Burma, and the Netherlands Indies—to mention only the politically most advanced countries of Southeast Asia—did not automatically produce a vigorous discussion of public questions. The chief reason is that all these governments still are somewhat class-bound. Another is that there is not in these countries anything like the full system of communications which Western electorates possess to bring the issues home to the people. And, of course, in none of these countries has the literacy of the masses advanced to the point at which they can effectively be reached by the printed word.

Converging Lines of Approach

Mass education for self-government, then, is a multiple task in which advance along any one line may be hindered or speeded by that along some other line. But one element must be present if there is to be progress at all: those whose responsibility it is to guide the transformation of a colonial or quasi-feudal society into a self-reliant commonwealth must themselves trust the democratic process. Too often, while paying lip service to democracy, they unwittingly substitute for such trust a cautious reliance on the apparatus which they themselves administer. At best, such men may be willing gradually to admit to participation in the management of affairs those natives who have learned the ways of the West. And that is not enough.

A frequent argument in defense of the system of trusteeship —that is, continuation of the white man's rule—is that the native people will, in its absence, only the more thoroughly subject themselves to class rule. It is possible, of course, even probable, that no pure democracy results immediately from the freeing of those who have long been unfree. But as long as consciousness of subjection to an alien power unites the more rebellious members of different population groups in a common dissatisfaction, they cannot come to grips with their own conflicts of interest. The point to be stressed in the present connection is that self-government is conditioned by the ability of different ethnic groups, religious sects, economic classes, to deal realistically with their own conflict situations. It is true that the internal economy of a country under strong imperial rule may be more prosperous than that of a self-governing commonwealth—social peace may be more assured in Malaya or Borneo than it is in Thailand or the Philippines; but the colonial dependencies afford all too few occasions for the people to compose their own differences where the clash involves more than petty conflicts of no great social significance.

To start anything new in an old society there must be upstarts. There are those in the colonial and class-bound governments who sincerely believe that they alone stand between the common people and the vested interests that are ready to exploit them. Their confidence in the power of the people to rule and protect themselves gains to the extent to which they see men of ability rise from the ranks, men equipped with enough education to challenge those who dominate the political and economic life by means of their wealth or social position. Thus, the men who composed the Thai reform movement that produced the *coup d'état* in 1932 knew well enough that the newly gained power of the commoners was not safe unless wider circles could quickly be brought into participation with the new government. The first step they took toward this end was adult mass education, to explain the constitutional change itself and to arouse the people. Another step was to make the student body of the national university more representative and to open a new, modern university.[19] A critical attitude on the part of the students was encouraged, and most of them were upon graduation absorbed in the civil service, dispersed in local offices all over the country, and charged with educational and propagandist responsibilities in addition to their

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[19] This was modeled on the *École des Hautes Études politiques* in Paris and was intended as "a democratic bulwark against the rising tide of militarism." Late in 1939 a third university, with medical and engineering schools, was added. See Virginia Thompson, *Thailand: the New Siam*, New York, 1941, p. 785.

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regular duties. A third step was the establishment, in 1936, of agricultural, industrial, and trade schools so as to break through the bad tradition of using secondary education only as a means toward political office. Also it was hoped that through the application of trained native ability to the technical problems of production it might be possible to loosen the hold which foreign capital had obtained over the economic enterprise of the country. Only the accumulation of capital through native earnings and savings could make the financing of the government more independent of the revenues procured by the licensing of foreign-controlled monopolies; only through an essentially educational process, forwarded in thousands of rural communities, could the vicious circle be broken that had so long dominated the country's economy. The recent unfortunate turn in Thailand's external policy which brought a reactionary group to power has only delayed but not eliminated the planned and graded progress toward a people's self-determination through an ever wider sharing of responsibility.

In the Philippines may be seen yet another example of a modern government just rising from the shadow of the past; and there, too, the government has tried in recent pre-war years to reinforce its own existence through education for economic as well as social and political self-determination.[20] Here the campaign against illiteracy has been linked up with parallel forward movements in vocational and a more widely diffused higher education. Though it has been impossible to finance these movements adequately, they have not been without effect. To some extent they have helped to dignify labor, to elicit local initiative, and to train for responsible leadership. President Quezon and his government have on many occasions shown their desire to speed up the process; but apart from financial stringency it has suffered from the heritage of a class system that has not yet disintegrated because the economy of the country has remained essentially a colonial one. Perhaps for these reasons, there has been more reliance on mass education than on the slower influence of the school system.[21]

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[20] See Joseph R. Hayden, *op. cit.*, chapter XX, pp. 512-33.

[21] See *Annual Report of the Director of Adult Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1939*, Manila, 1939, Introduction, p. 7 *et seq.*

An American educator with long experience in India, consulted on the subject of the present essay, has suggested:

> "Before there can be self-determination there must be self-confidence. And this cannot grow when people are too anxiously guarded against making mistakes. One of the first fields for the exercise of self-determination in Southeast Asia may well be that of education itself. No school system will be very effective in training for citizenship unless the teachers have a voice in the making of educational policies and are permitted—as they are not always now—to organize openly for national educational ends.
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> "In the education of adults it is, of course, almost equally important that the students themselves be won for a purposeful consideration of means and ends. Those educational movements which would relegate the self-expression of the adult student to the realm of the native cultural and economic segment of society—on the assumption that there alone he can function effectively—will not go far. He must have access to every part of the national life that is important to him; and this will usually include much of the modern as well as the traditional culture that surrounds him.
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> "Of course," he continued, "those occidental teachers and administrators who take part in preparing the people of tropical Asia for self-government also must be interested on both sides of the cleavage which has so falsely been imagined to separate the historic and the modern phases of life. It is not their job to deculturize the indigenous people. But it is not their job either to preserve their culture intact for later generations. Their main job is to transmit the knowledge which is essential for the new day."

Another American educator, active in the field of international cultural relations, recently told the writer:

> "The key is modernization, how to achieve for the native peoples of the East the advantages that arise from modern knowledge. In the Occident this knowledge has been brought to bear on the condition of the people more especially through the growth of the professions—but this in the widest sense. Specialization of skills was necessary to produce a working class. And even farming has become more of a profession as farmers have learned to use tractors and other modern tools.
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> "In the Asiatic dependencies of the great powers a modern working class could not arise because the imperialist form of exploitation did not encourage a development of skills. If modern states are to arise in place of the colonies people must be produced who can

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manage modern manufactures and manipulate public utilities. An industrialization which merely continues what the large estates under foreign ownership have begun, throwing on the world market vast quantities of goods produced with cheap and depressed labor, would be a real danger to the world. But large industrial developments will not take place without imported capital; and so the process of industrialization can be subjected to international supervision. The emphasis should be both on modern methods of production and on a product that fits into the consuming habits of the indigenous population. In that way two conditions of a safe cultural change will be fulfilled: regard for modern knowledge and regard for established culture values."

It may not be amiss to point out that liberal colonial officials —British, French, and Dutch—agree with the one or two major demands here expressed by informed Americans. Training for greater participation of the native peoples in the management of their affairs, they admit, does not allow of a sharp separation of the native economy from the dependency's modern economy: the aim must be to obtain a larger native participation in the national economy as a whole. For the same reason, they regard it as a mistake to confine the political education of the masses to their own geographical or ethnic community and, indeed, usually frown upon any proposal to build up a national franchise on a community basis. For, as they see education for modern life, it is of its very essence that it enlarge the outlook of the people beyond their village, their religious institutions, and their tribal customs.[22]

An anthropologist with large experience in Southeast Asia, consulted by the writer on the part which the colonial governments may legitimately be expected to play in bringing the native people into modern society, asked rhetorically, "why has health education in the colonies proved so difficult?" And he answered the question himself: "because it was attempted from the top down; the people had not asked for it."

[22] It is, perhaps, significant in this connection that the term "Indonesia," the public use of which has long been prohibited in the Netherlands Indies because of its association with a nationalist movement, has now become respectable and is, indeed, used by the government itself to stress its hope that all the diverse ethnic elements of the archipelago will soon be merged in a united nation.

000 "It would be absurd to maintain," he continued, "that the people do not value good health; but there is nothing in their experience to suggest that it can be procured, like a good crop, by careful attention to details.

"Education in hygiene may be the beginning of education in many other useful things. But it must really be education and not simply a transfer of the native's respect from the shaman to the foreign or foreign-trained doctor. The native's cooperation must be enlisted, step by step. He will understand a simple demonstration, performed with patience and with such explanations as come close to his experience. Even the less intelligent will respond if the confidence of the more influential personalities has first been won.

"More tangential but more generally successful as a means to gain acceptance of modern ideas has been the whole field of sport, and more especially teamplay. If self-determination is the end sought, the important thing is to provide more and more occasions on which the rank and file can take part in democratic procedures.

"Another necessary step is specialization: training for special tasks. It is quite true that professional training is liable to create new classes, perhaps even a new hierarchy of social status. But by its means native society can more easily adjust itself to new conditions; it keeps that society flexible as individuals are drawn from one class into another, until a more dynamic and modern social pattern has evolved."

The Management of Incentives

There is, in short, great need for the study of incentives in native society. Some writers—not, to be sure, the best informed—seem to assume that the desire for knowledge is motivated altogether by personal ambition; or rather, they do not recognize it unless it comes to their attention in that form. Some explain it with a growing economic class conflict; and, as we have seen, there often is such a connection. But far more colonials see in that desire a regrettable reflection of alien influences that have no great reality in personal experience and are of little use to native society. They speak forever of the Oriental's tendency to "ape" his Occidental superior—blissfully ignorant that many of the culture traits for which the West takes credit have actually originated in the East. The probability is that many factors converge to create out of a variety of motives a loosely knit nationalist or nativist or other reform or revolutionary movement which, once it is under 000 way, becomes itself the largest stimulus to learning.

We are thus led to the conclusion that mass education can provide at best only a general setting of enhanced mental alertness ~~and response~~; but that education for self-rule, in the meaning adopted for the present discussion, involves a more diversified approach. In as far as modernization of attitudes and skills is indispensable for the entrance of pre-industrial societies into the modern world, there is need for specialization—perhaps even for the deliberate creation of vocational and professional classes so that the interests of every group of the population may find full scope when all take part in the management of their common affairs.

Vocational education thus assumes a meaning somewhat different from that which it had when it was regarded as a means of raising the efficiency and general intelligence of manual workers without stirring too much their interest in modern knowledge. In those countries of Southeast Asia where native education has advanced beyond the primitive formal stage of moral conditioning, vocational training of sorts has always been resorted to as the most efficacious way of raising production and thus the plane of living. But not all educational administrators have welcomed the new consciousness of power to which such training almost inevitably gives rise. Only the more advanced among them have seen a valuable social force in the emergence of what may here be called the professional spirit. They recognize that a society cannot lift itself to a higher level of civilization merely by enjoying more opportunities for individual competition. When the movement up from ignorance and lethargy transcends personal economic or social success and acquires a class character, it must sooner or later come in conflict with the barriers artificially set to the advance of an ethnic or a culture group as such. What we inaccurately call race discrimination will set in and provide the most intelligent and the most ambitious of the indigenous middle class with yet further, but socially wholly undesirable, steps in their social education.

In contrast with vocational training which occasionally has

000 reduced very undesirable attitudes in a small indigenous minority. adult education more generally has not, as far as this writer is aware, in any of the countries of Southeast Asia been carried to the point where it has awakened ambitions really dangerous to the dominant group. But this may be only because whenever it threatened to reach that stage it has been successfully repressed. In but few instances can class conflict be traced to such education—and then, a close examination might be expected to show, only because the education was poor and missed its purpose. Neither general adult education nor vocational specialization have in themselves to any large extent produced autonomous group organization. The trade union movement is still exceedingly weak. Sometimes it is little more than a government-sponsored substitute for labor initiative. Yet it would be unfair to lay the blame for lack of modern and effective forms of organization entirely upon the tactics of the governments. Usually the people are as yet incapable to organize for long-range action. Peasants and laborers seek recourse in sporadic strikes and riots because they do not know any better. Only in the relatively few highly developed industries, with their own large incentives to learning, have modern unions taken root.

In short, it may be said that throughout Southeast Asia preparation for self-rule is as yet a process that operates for the most part in exceptional situations only and through exceptional personalities. There is not thus far enough of a foundation in the social experience of the people at large to build upon; and not too rapid a progress must be expected in postwar years.

Training for Leadership

Those who would help to accelerate the native peoples' progress toward self-determination are inevitably led back from considerations of mass methods to those of a narrower field of education: training for native leadership. In that field noteworthy successes have been obtained; indeed a whole volume might be made up of the biographies of Malays and Indonesians who in recent times have made notable contributions to the intellectual or social progress of their people.[23] Educa- 000 tion for leadership in this sense differs greatly from education provided to insure the succession of an existing social elite, in that those who undergo it do not necessarily assume an envied social status and are not wrenched from their cultural background but, on the contrary, are fitted to function in it the more effectively. A native community does not normally have occasion to take pride in the achievements of a local son who has been alienated from it by a European education; it benefits only indirectly if it benefits at all from the greater ability of such a person to find his way about in the modern part of the economy. In contrast, it benefits directly, and is aware of the benefit, from a modern education of some of its sons if these retain their membership in the native society that has given them birth. The local son who has been educated away from the native culture tends to look down upon it and to despise those who adhere to its time-honored dictates. The local son who has been provided by his education with the requisite knowledge and skills to bring the community into contact with world civilization acts as an intermediary between old and new and may become a trusted liaison officer for those who are not yet able to take part in the modern economy.[24]

Native armies and police forces have often in Southeast Asia provided restricted opportunities for such training in leadership—perhaps better, in some ways, than the civil service because occasions for the exercise of power are needed to gain ooo confidence in the capacity to achieve it. The native officer commands at least that small native body which makes up his troop, and the soldiers learn to respect a native in the role of a leader who functions with apparent ease on the modern side of their pluralistic society. The native civil servant, even when admitted to a position of relative importance, does not, with his more attenuated exercise of power, produce that effect upon those around him. Even greater than in either of these cases is the educational byproduct of leaders and rank-and-file relations in organizations that owe their inception to native initiative and which rest entirely in native hands—such, for example, as cooperatives or the local improvement societies to be found in Burma. But the history of social movements in many parts of Southeast Asia has shown that such organizations tend to be short-lived unless the leaders are equipped for them with the requisite modern knowledge.

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[23] Since it lies ethnically and geographically outside the scope of the present study, the astonishing advance of the Maori people of New Zealand to full citizenship and considerable participation in the political and intellectual life of the Dominion, in less than two generations, can here be mentioned only in passing. It is a striking illustration of the social results that can be obtained with training for native leadership. For descriptions of that process see Felix M. Keesing, *The Changing Maori*, New Plymouth, N. Z., 1928; and I. L. G. Sutherland, ed., *The Maori People Today*, Wellington, N. Z., 1940.

[24] The Filipino sociologist Serafin E. Macaraig makes the point that "Stratification is not conducive to progress. The upper strata of society will always be inclined to exploit the lower class." But he distinguishes from it a more fluid class structure: "If stratification engenders suspicion and hatred, competition destroys ill-feelings, for as people gain more social experience, people will look with growing satisfaction upon those who succeed in a fair field of competition." *Social Problems*, Manila, 1929, pp. 306, 307.

Keesing has characterized this type as distinct, on the one hand, from the native leader who functions entirely—and therefore within a very limited range—as a representative of the inherited culture and, on the other hand, from the "intellectual cream" that is separated and liable to become a privileged class.

> "In contrast to this," he says, "higher education may bring a swinging back to some individuals to their own people and indigenous culture. Reaching in some instances the highest pinnacles of Western learning, they see not only the benefits but also the limitations of the West; in turn, they are in a position to evaluate critically their own ancestral heritage, seeing its good and bad points. Evidence from a number of places indicates that education conducted beyond a certain point, and infused with a constructive spirit, is likely to have such results."[25]

How is this kind of education to be achieved? The present book contains a number of suggestions. In another publication its author compares the methods used by the British Indian and the Netherlands Indian governments in training natives for the civil service[26] and comes to the conclusion that, on the whole, the methods of the Netherlands Indies come closer to meeting the needs of the future, because they rest on the conception of "society in a tropical dependency as essentially dual in character, . . . capitalist and pre-capitalist."[27] We cannot here enter more fully into the discussion because, after all, it belongs to the pre-Atlantic-Charter realm of discourse in which the continuation of alien rule was assumed as a matter of course. But it is interesting to note that native education for leadership has apparently made greater strides under the Netherlands system than under the British because, with the recognition as "Europeans" of the sons of Dutch fathers and native mothers, the stark line of racial demarcation has not been permitted to cast its arbitrary division across Netherlands Indian society. The fact that many Europeans born in the dependency were sent to Europe to receive or complete their training in civil administration, together with the high sensitivity of the Dutch administration to the inherent values of the native culture, has made for a mutually supplementary education of Europe-born and Indies-born students. The former were given courses steeped in scholarly understanding for the native culture; the latter were, not only through the courses they attended but also through the mode of life required of them, introduced to the spirit as well as the mechanics of European culture.

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[25] Felix M. Keesing, *Education in Pacific Countries,* Honolulu 1937 (distributed by the University of Hawaii, Honolulu), p. 139; followed by several concrete examples.

The advantages of such a complementary preparation of Westerners for civil service in the East and of native Orientals for leadership in their own country with a sufficient mastery of Western resources has been recognized in other countries, too, by educators who are familiar with the problems involved. For example, in the United States the American Council of Learned Societies and the Committee on the National School of Modern Oriental Languages and Civilizations, have recently developed a program of intensive language studies which is gradually becoming transformed into a more inclusive program of regional studies. This has for one of its major purposes the training of Americans for administrative responsibilities and business management in the Orient, especially in countries with predominantly pre-industrial civilizations. War needs have accelerated both the growth and the transformation of this enterprise which now places into the forefront of its aims the creation of a realistic understanding of the various Asiatic societies as they pass further from native to modern economies. The interest aroused by such courses among American students provides an intellectual soil into which it might be wise to transplant those native students who likewise are to be trained for administrative abilities in their respective countries. Such oriental graduate students have in the past often been unfitted by foreign study, rather than made more fit, for native leadership. Introducing them into such intensive regional courses for administration as those now being given at several American universities would have advantages for both oriental and American students. To the latter it would bring more first-hand knowledge of facts and problems as the native peoples experience them. The oriental students participating in such courses and seminars—while at the same time also pursuing their separate studies of Western lore—would receive an encouragement that has often been lacking in the past to re-examine the values of their heritage and to help it to a new flowering with the aid of modern knowledge.[28]

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[26] J. S. Furnivall, "The Training for Civil Administration in Netherlands India," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, vol. XXVI, July 1939, pp. 415-39.

[27] *Loc. cit.*, p. 427.

The suggestion has been made that, even while the war in the Pacific is still in progress, it may be worth while to pool the large combined experience of educators in Southeast Asia to advance training for native leadership by setting up, perhaps in the United States, a school for comparative studies and experiments. There will be a dearth of trained oriental as well as occidental administrators of relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction activities on the reoccupation of territories now in the hands of the enemy. In addition to personnel with past experience, many will have to be employed who will go to their tasks with only such preparation as careful training can give in a short time. As far as occidental and specifically American relief and rehabilitation workers are concerned, such training is now proceeding at an increasing rate. In some institutions the regional knowledge required by Army and Navy personnel is also given to prospective civilian relief and rehabilitation workers. In the United States alone some twenty-five institutions now participate, or have advanced programs for participating, in such training. One proposal is that these many courses, schools, and institutes—not all of them very well equipped for the tasks they propose to undertake—be combined in a single American University for Foreign Service. Another proposal is for a combined approach to the common problem on the part of all the interested United Nations, with the establishment of a joint training and research center under international auspices—perhaps the League of Nations or one of the new agencies of joint activity. Such a center would have the special advantage of facilitating a comparative study of educational methods and administrative practices.

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[28] Some of them might, by participating as teachers in the intensive language courses, contribute toward their own expenses as students. This would have the added advantage of tending to enlarge the social base from which native personnel in such countries as the Philippines or Thailand could be chosen for foreign study.

An Educational Synthesis

Those who favor a considerable extension of university training for potential native leadership agree with others who are more skeptical in this respect that it cannot take the place of an expanded training for self-determination on a somewhat lower educational level. It cannot take the place of a diversified and systematic modern education for natives throughout the dependencies of Southeast Asia, geared in every region and in every locality to the specific conditions and needs. In other words, if preparation for self-determination of subject peoples is the accepted purpose, then there must be, first of all, a considerable increase in the appropriations made from public funds for education in general. We cannot here pursue the financial problem involved because it introduces many economic factors outside the purview of the present study—above all, the question how international collaboration may best pull the public finances of all of Southeast Asia out of the slough into which the war, the economic depression which preceded it and, in some instances, faulty policies in pre-war times have placed them.

Between the elementary schools and mass adult education on the one side and university or other higher education on the other, there is a large middle ground of educational need and opportunity, explored in Mr. Furnivall's study and in other recent surveys,[29] which should now be reexamined from the standpoint of the Atlantic Charter—that is, as to the contribution which diverse types of institutions and of courses may be expected to make, not only to the wellbeing of the native people and their general progress, but specifically to their preparation for social, economic, and political self-rule.

Marie Keesing, an observer of educational methods in the Philippines, Samoa and Fiji, refers to the fact[30] that there still often is a wide gap between general and higher education, and that this gap makes for the exploitation of the more ignorant by those who wield the tools of modern knowledge. She writes:

> "This is a criticism of the kind and quality of higher education rather than of the amount provided. Any study of the conditions under which education and native development take place in the Pacific area leaves one amazed, not that progress is slow, but that there has been progress at all. Such achievements as have been won usually stem from devoted and inspiring individuals. . . .
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> "A primary need in most of the countries and dependencies is the development of the local economy as a first claim on the educational system. Public works of one kind or another may give rise to projects on which democratic organization can be learned and around which primary and vocational education can be centered at the same time that basic needs are met and basic problems solved—at the same time, this usually means that the community is brought into beneficial contact with civilization.
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> "A study of experience in the field of public health is particularly revealing, showing as it does the successive steps by which the retarding influence of traditional ideas and attitudes can be over-

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[29] *E. g.*, Raden Loekman Djajadiningrat, *op. cit.*: chapters in J. R. Hayden, Virginia Thompson, *op. cit.*; also in Lennox A. Mills, *British Rule in Eastern Asia*, Minneapolis, 1942, *et al.*

[30] In a communication to the writer, January 1943.

come. It has, for example, proven useless to rely on external changes in the matter of hygiene where there has been no change in inward conviction. Only as people are enlisted in bringing about changes in their own behalf can general progress become more rapid."

Trained native leadership—that is, the provision of higher education within the framework of native society—thus, instead of being antithetical to mass education, may take its place as one of the principal means of advancing the capacity of the common people to rule themselves. Mrs. Keesing makes this one of four major principles of such advance, which she states as follows: demonstration (especially in relation to the economic life, matters of health, and technical improvements of all sorts, where the value of proposed innovations can best be brought to popular appreciation, leaving no doubt as to their results); visual modes of teaching, rather than reliance on words; democratic procedure (presumably something akin to the methods practiced in our progressive schools); and the most rapid possible substitution of educated native for even the best nonnative leadership.

This list of principles can no doubt be amplified and enlarged, but it may here suffice to indicate, as indeed Mr. Furnivall does indicate with reference to specific situations, that the authority charged with the formulation of educational policies does not, in a region as undeveloped educationally as most of tropical Asia, face the necessity of making absolute and mutually exclusive choices. There is a large field for fruitful experimentation and for the comparative study of the results produced with diverse programs and methods.

Indeed, it may be said that educational progress has suffered from too sharp a juxtaposition of supposedly conflicting aims: that of the religionists—both Asiatic and Occidental-Christian, that of the employing groups, and that of the nationalists. The first are primarily interested in cultural, especially moral, values, whether traditional or universal, and often have little direct concern with practical problems of material advance. The second desire improvement in skills from which they can profit and favor higher education for natives to the extent to which it contributes to that end—that is, helps them to substitute a cheaper native supply of labor for the higher as well as the lower categories of technical skill. The third group desire, above all, to acquire that knowledge which will help them to break through the alien upper stratum of the pluralistic society which holds them down; that is why they study law rather than engineering and train for the civil service rather than for the operation of native industries. But the new situation calls for a synthesis that overcomes the conflict of purposes: for, presumably, the objectives named—moral integration, higher technical qualifications, and political power—now become aspects of a single and inclusive objective—that of placing education in the service of a progressive realization of self-rule. And in this synthesis the contrasting claims of mass education and education for leadership also are resolved.

> "Create an environment in which there is a demand for education; remove all hindrances to the free play for this demand; and it will no longer be necessary to discuss what instruction shall be given, because the demand will create the supply."[81]

The creation of that environment includes not only economic and social changes; it also implies a transformation of the institutional structure, and not least that of the school systems. As long as the present governments of tropical Asia continue to rule, they carry the responsibility for guiding those changes and that transformation. Most of them are pledged to prepare their subject peoples for self-government. Some of them will face conditions, when the war is over, that will make it difficult to do so. But the Atlantic Charter also implies the principle of international mutual aid. "An instructed nationalism," says Mr. Furnivall, "should fit into a world-wide civilization so that the people should learn to be at once citizens of their own country and of the modern world."

A new instrumentality, perhaps regional but certainly linked to an international organization, will be needed—not only to exercise some supervision in behalf of world opinion over recalcitrant authorities that may fall back into educational indecision and indifference, but more especially to assist all the authorities, as their joint agency, to deal effectively with their similar and common problems.[32] A beginning with such educational collaboration can be made at once.

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[81] "Colonial Southeast—Instruction or Education," *Pacific Affairs*, March 1942, pp. 77-89.

The concrete tasks of relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction upon the reoccupation of the invaded areas of Southeast Asia necessitate an immediate training of personnel, as has already been suggested. But much less thought has thus far been given to the intellectual and psychological havoc wrought by years of enemy control. In some instances, the school system seems to have continued to function almost normally in externals, but with a sullen acquiescence that does not make for educational vitality. In others, it seems to have disintegrated or even to have been corrupted to serve the propaganda purposes of the enemy; information is very incomplete. While thus there will be much loss to make up for, there will also be unusual opportunities to start in with new plans and programs, invigorated by a new determination.

Relief and rehabilitation pose their own tasks for the educator. These tasks are emergent and can be performed with an eye to their early fulfilment and liquidation. But they can also be made subservient to the needs of a larger and longer task of reconstruction. A joint organ of the powers concerned, inspired with faith in democracy, could do much to bring permanent good out of the necessity to deal with immediate ills. Following the successful example of other international agencies, such as the International Labor Organization, that have made social reconstruction an occasion for the practice of the principle of democratic representation, such an organ may in its own procedures exemplify the spirit it should seek to promote. Certainly there should be native participation in the highly educational experience of planning for a new day.

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[32] Further suggestions for such regional collaboration will be found in B. Lasker, *Freedom and Welfare in Southeast Asia*, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1942.

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APPENDIX

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EDUCATION IN FORMOSA

In the sphere of education the island has passed through two periods, one before 1919 and another since that year. Before 1919 the policy of the government with respect to the Chinese of the island was vacillating. It was ready to recognize the existence of the Chinese in the Japanese Empire as a separate entity, and was ready even to help them preserve their Chinese character. A special society was created to investigate Chinese customs and habits and these were to be taken into consideration in court practice. Later, the failure of this policy was recognized and the avowed end became the japanization of the inhabitants of the islands in order to make them loyal subjects of the Empire. The elementary school was to become the chief instrument in this japanization. While before that period the education of the Chinese was completely neglected, since then school expenditures have grown and the number of pupils has increased from year to year. But this does not mean that there is any equality between the Japanese and Chinese as regards education. A literate population is necessary for the japanization of the islanders. Knowledge of the Japanese language is indispensable for workers, policemen, for the *paocheng*, for clerks, for all who work for their Japanese rulers. It does not mean that there is any intention of raising the Chinese to an equal position with the Japanese. The school is considered the best instrument for turning the islanders into docile, law-abiding, hard-working servants. As may be seen from the following table the results, before 1930, were hardly impressive:

NUMBER OF CHINESE ON TAIWAN WHO UNDERSTAND THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE (*census data*)

	1905	*1915*	*1920*	*1930*
Women	469	4,194	11,168	70,750
Men	10,801	50,143	87,897	294,677
Total	11,270	54,337	99,065	365,427

Source: Kokumin nenkan, 1940, p. 665.

000 If we look at the rate of growth these figures may appear imposing. But actually the results can hardly be considered satisfactory since by 1930, after thirty-five ~~years of~~ Japanese rule over such a small area, only about ten per cent of the population understand the language of the rulers—and the degree of understanding required by the census-takers was small.

The growth in the number of pupils in elementary schools may be seen from the following table:

PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN TAIWAN

	1935	*1936*	*1937*	*1938*	*1939*
Number of schools	781	783	789	796	812
Number of teachers	6,255	6,659	7,239	7,888	8,718
Number of pupils, 1,000	373.9	407.6	450.0	505.5	557.1
Number of pupils as percentage of children of school age	41.5	43.8	46.7	49.8	....
Graduates, 1,000	42.3	45.7	50.3	59.0	....

Source: Taiwan Jijo.

From this it appears that in five years the number of pupils in primary schools increased from 373.9 thousand to 557.1 thousand. About half the Chinese children of school age (8-14) are now in primary schools. This increase is partially due to the absorption of new pupils by schools, and partially to the fact that the schools have been increasing the length of the courses they offer from four to six years. If one takes into consideration the fact that during these six years the pupils must master thousands of characters as well as a foreign language and that most of the teachers are foreigners (to them), it is clear that a six-year course is not a long one. These statistics do not include the schools for Japanese children. Theoretically there is complete equality in Taiwan and there are no special schools for the Japanese, but there are schools where instruction is carried on in the Japanese language. With the permission of the governor of the province Chinese may also be admitted to such schools, even if they do not know the Japanese language, but this permission is not given willingly. Many parents among the lower groups of Chinese officials want to send their child to a Japanese school so that he or she will have a thorough knowledge of the language of the rulers and a better chance to get a higher paid job. But in 1936, out of 42,576 pupils in these schools 000 there were only 2,975 Chinese. There is another important fact with respect to the Japanese pupils; while in 1938 only fifty per cent of the Chinese of school age were in school, 99.4 per cent of the Japanese of this age were attending school in 1936.

Whether or not the Japanese and Chinese children in their respective schools receive the same kind of education may be inferred from the following fact. In 1936 the maximum monthly salary of teachers in the schools for Japanese children was ¥82 for men and ¥70 for women and the minimum, ¥40 for men and ¥30 for women. But in the public schools (i.e. for the Chinese) the maximum salary was ¥50 and minimum ¥10, and this difference was not due chiefly to nationality, for the majority of teachers in the public schools are also Japanese, but to the calibre of the teachers.[1]

A further important test of any system of education is the number of students in secondary schools and in universities. As was mentioned, literacy is a necessity under modern conditions, even in the colonies. But to give a secondary education and especially a university education to the colonial peoples *en masse* is quite a different proposition. On April 1, 1939, there were 5,125 Japanese and 4,117 Chinese in the Taiwan secondary schools for boys. It will be recalled that the number of Chinese on the island is almost twenty times as great as the number of Japanese, and the proportion between the children of the two groups is even greater. In the girls secondary schools the situation is even less favorable to the Chinese—5,312 Japanese pupils as compared with only 2,541 Chinese (1939). In the specialized schools the situation is similar—in the industrial schools there are 963 Japanese boys and 460 Chinese; in the commercial schools, 1,791 Japanese boys and 724 Chinese. The agricultural schools form the only exception, but even here there are 588 Japanese to 1,426 Chinese pupils though there are at least 300 times as many Chinese farmers as Japanese. The fact that in 1936, for example, there were 5,576 applications for entrance to secondary schools, but only 1,622 boys were admitted (29.1 per cent of the applicants) and most of those were Japanese shows that there is an ardent desire to study on the part of Taiwanese youth. In 1936 there were 985 Japanese students and 384 Chinese in the teachers' colleges (which prepare teachers for the Chinese schools).

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[1] On the average the expenditure per pupil in 1926 was twice as high in schools for the Japanese as it was in schools for the Chinese.

In discussing the public finances of Taiwan, it was noted that the expenditures on the only university in Taiwan, which is in Taihoku, cannot be considered as expenditures purely for the education of the Chinese population. In 1939 there were 192 Japanese and 90 Chinese students in this university.

SCHOOL ENROLMENT IN TAIWAN, APRIL 1, 1939

	Japanese	*Chinese*
Youth of school and college age (8-22)	88,000*	2,000,000*
Pupils in primary schools	44,000*	557,135
Pupils in secondary schools	10,437	6,658
Pupils in special secondary schools	3,343	2,610
Students in teachers' colleges (1936)	985	384
Students in the university	192	90

SCHOOL ENROLMENT PER THOUSAND CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE

Pupils in primary schools	500*	278*
Pupils in secondary schools	118	3.3
Pupils in special secondary schools	38	1.3
Students in teachers' colleges	11	0.2
Students in the university	2	0.05

* Approximate figures

It may be thought that the figures of students in secondary schools and colleges are not complete because they do not include those who are studying in schools and colleges in Japan proper. It is quite natural that those who have the means prefer to send their children to Japan to get their education at the center of the Empire. We know that many Japanese from Taiwan are studying in Japan; probably their number far exceeds the number of those who study in Taiwan, but unfortunately, we have no statistics. However, we have complete statistics of the Chinese from Taiwan who are students of Japanese colleges and universities. In 1936 there were in Japan 1,113 Chinese pupils from Taiwan in secondary schools of all types and 952 students in colleges and universities. These students studied: law 204 persons, medicine 507 persons, literature 27 persons, political science and economics 66 persons, commerce 71 persons, music 3 persons, art 7 persons, religion 6 persons, housekeeping 13 persons, physical culture 3 persons, all other subjects 45 persons, or a total of 952 persons. 000

These figures reflect the views of the students as to their future chances in life. The corresponding figures for the university in Taiwan are not so instructive because there the choice is very limited, while in Japan they may choose in accordance with their future plans. The great majority of the students select courses leading to liberal professions—law, medicine, etc. They do this because they know that all other roads in Taiwan are closed to them. These figures show also that the inclusion of those who study in Japan in the number of pupils and students in Taiwan does not materially change the picture.

(Andrew J. Grajdanzev, *Formosa Today*, pp. 165-99.)

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87 Indochina AMl

[For a general discussion of the several aspects of the history of education, and its relation to colonialism in Indochina, from pre-European contact to 1941, see table of contents for pertinent sections in 8: Furnivall, ALl Southeast Asia, category 116.]

87 Indonesia OB1

[For a general discussion of the several aspects of the history of education, and its relation to colonialism in Indonesia, from pre-European contact to 1941, see table of contents for pertinent sections in 8: Furnivall, AL1 Southeast Asia, category 116.]

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Malaya AN1

[For a general discussion of the several aspects of the history of education, and its relation to colonialism in Malaya, from pre-European contact to 1941, see table of contents for pertinent sections in 8: Furnivall, AL1 Southeast Asia, category 116.]

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Burma AP1

[For a general discussion of the several aspects of the history of education, and its relation to colonialism in Burma, from pre-European contact to 1941, see table of contents for pertinent sections in 8: Furnivall, AL1 Southeast Asia, category 116.]

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Philippines OA1

[For a general discussion of the several aspects of the history of education, and its relation to colonialism in the Philippines, from pre-European contact to 1941, see table of contents for pertinent sections in 8: Furnivall, AL1 Southeast Asia, category 116.]

87 Thailand A01

[For a general discussion of the several aspects of the history of education, and its relation to European contact in Thailand, from pre-European contact to 1941, see table of contents for pertinent sections in 8: Furnivall, AL1 Southeast Asia, category 116.]

177 Philippines OA1

[For a general discussion of the effect of the policies of the colonial government on the education system, and on divers aspects of the native society, see table of contents for pertinent sections in 8: Furnivall, AL1 Southeast Asia, category 116.]

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Burma AP1

[For a general discussion of the effect of the policies of the colonial government on the education system, and on divers aspects of the native society, see table of contents for pertinent sections in 8: Furnivall, AL1 Southeast Asia, category 116.]

177 Malaya AN1

[For a general discussion of the effect of the policies of the colonial government on the education system, and on divers aspects of the native society, see table of contents for pertinent sections in 8: Furnivall, AL1 Southeast Asia, category 116.]

177 Indonesia OB1

[For a general discussion of the effect of the policies of the colonial government on the education system, and on divers aspects of the native society, see table of contents for pertinent sections in 8: Furnivall, AL1 Southeast Asia, category 116.]

177 Indochina AM1

[For a general discussion of the effect of the policies of the colonial government on the education system, and on divers aspects of the native society, see table of contents for pertinent sections in 8: Furnivall, AL1 Southeast Asia, category 116.]

177 Thailand AO1

[For a general discussion of the effect of European contact on the educational system, and on divers aspects of the native society of Thailand, see the table of contents for pertinent sections in 8: Furnivall, AL1 Southeast Asia, category 116.]

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Southeast Asia AL1

[For a general discussion of the effect of the policies of the colonial government on the education system, and on divers aspects of the native society, see table of contents for pertinent sections in 8: Furnivall, AL1 Southeast Asia, category 116.]